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10 January 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2092

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### CONTENTS

#### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Letter to Honecker Protesting 'New Military Service Law' Reviewed (NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 10 Dec 82) .....	1
SED Stresses 'Creative Application' of Marxist Theory (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 1 Dec 82) .....	3
U.S.-West Europe 'Divergencies' Impact on 'Socialist Community' Analyzed (IWE-TAGESDIENST, 23 Nov 82; IPW-BERICHT, 23 Nov 82) .....	11
West German Commentary GDR Political Journal's Analysis, by Martin Winter	

#### POLAND

Daily Surveys Workers on Strikes, Political Situation (SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 12-14 Nov 82) .....	22
Young Workers Surveyed on Social, Professional Situation (Krzysztof Stanislawski; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 3 Nov 82) .....	27
Kalisz PZPR First Secretary Janicki Interviewed (Jan Janicki Interview; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 26-28 Nov 82) .....	30
Radom Province Party Activities Noted (SLOWO LUDU, 3, 17 Jun, 20, 29 Jul, 5, 18, 26 Aug, 16, 27, 30 Sep, 5, 7, 11, 14, 18, 21 Oct) .....	36
Executive Board on Producer Cooperatives Executive Board on Industry, Handicrafts Plenum on Social-Political Stabilization	



Concise Report on Plenum  
 Plenum Discussions  
 Executive Session on Scientific-Research Centers  
 Executive Board on Harvest Progress  
 Executive Board on Economic Progress  
 Executive Board on Local Schooling  
 Executive Board on Party Situation  
 Pre-Plenum Consultation With Work Force  
 Plenum on Social, Technical Reserves  
 Plenum Report by KW Secretary, by Wlodzimierz Kocinski  
 Plenum Discussions  
 Plenum Resolution on Housing Construction  
 Executive Board on Resolutions  
 Radom PZPR Ideological Conference  
 Executive Board on Social-Political Situation  
 Party Member Activities  
 Executive Board on Harvesting Problems

#### Briefs

New Periodical Published	74
Polish-Vietnamese Friendship Society	74
Nigeria Detains Ship	74

#### ROMANIA

Illegal Dissemination of Religious Writings by Popovici (Mihai Milca; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 27 Nov 82) .....	75
Development of Military Communications System Described (Gheorghe Enciu; VIATA MILITARA, Aug 82) .....	78

#### YUGOSLAVIA

The Role of Public Petitions Discussed (DANAS, 9 Nov 82) .....	80
Role of Public Petitions Discussed, by Jelena Lovric Vrhovec Urges Opposition, by Josip Vrhovec Petitions in Democratic Society, Tomislav Jantol	
'DANAS' Defends Position Against Criticism (DANAS, 26 Oct 82) .....	86

LETTER TO HONECKER PROTESTING 'NEW MILITARY SERVICE LAW' REVIEWED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 10 Dec 82 p 4

/Article signed "sk," datelined Berlin, 8 December: "Resistance to the Militarization of the GDR--Draft Refusers in a Dilemma"/

/Text/ The resistance offered by some young people in the GDR to the growing militarization of public life often proceeds behind a wall of silence. This is revealed by a letter, dated October 1982, written to State Council Chairman Honecker by more than 300 young women. Against the authors' initial wishes, this letter has now reached the West for publication. The circumstances involved clearly show that young people in the GDR who object to service in the National People's Army (NVA) for reasons of conscience, wish at any price to avoid giving the impression of organized protest and arousing the suspicion of cooperating with the peace movement in the West.

An Unanswered Letter

In their letter to Honecker the young women ask to discuss with him the new military service law, enacted last March. This provides--for the first time--for drafting female citizens. The signatories explain in their letter that they do not want by their silence to consent to a law that imposes entirely new duties on women, duties that are irreconcilable with their "self-appreciation."

The Way to Publicity

The circumstances surrounding publication in the FRG of the text of the appeal to Honecker suggest that the young women eventually did seek publicity in the West after all, because their concerns had met with total silence on the part of the state leaders. This assumption seems justified because, on the very day that the text of the letter was reprinted in the Hamburg news magazine DER SPIEGEL, DIE TAGESZEITUNG, organ of the Greens and Alternatives, published a statement by one of the signatories to the appeal to Honecker.

Among other factors this statement mentions that some women had gotten together and arrived at the conclusion that something simply had to be done, that it would be impossible "just to let everything slide." That is why signatures had been collected and letters of protest written. However, up to now nobody had received a reply.

The government had remained silent, the SED had remained silent. Temporary arrests had been the only reaction.

At the same time the signatory to the letter to Honecker did emphasize to the TAGEZEITUNG that the young women were certainly not interested in a "general opposition" to the regime. They refused to play into the hands of the West, the "class enemy." For that reason they had avoided using the roundabout way of approaching the Western media so as to publicize their concerns. Due to the fact that the TAGESZEITUNG is one of the most ardent opponents of the NATO modernization program and can hardly be accused of working hand-in-glove with the "class enemy," the signatories to the protest sent to Honecker seem to quite deliberately have chosen this publication.

#### Similar Anxieties in the Church

The Protestant Church in the GDR is in a similar situation. Church leaders have repeatedly warned young Christians not to let themselves be taken in tow by the peace movement in the FRG. Retired East Berlin Bishop Schoenherr proclaimed that nothing could hurt the GDR peace groups more than the mere suspicion of being controlled by the West. On the other hand those who wish to avoid their critique of militarization and conscientious objection to military service from becoming public knowledge, must expect their concerns to be disregarded by the authorities and hushed up by the state controlled media--as exemplified by the young women protesters. Consequently Christians in the GDR by no means completely accept the Church leaders' attitude. At the latest synod of the Union of Protestant Churches, held in Halle in September last, a young delegate from Dresden, Frenzel, accused the Church leaders of being more preoccupied with the concerns of the state than with the commitment to peace of young Christians.

The attitude of the Church toward the Christian peace movement as well as that of the 300 young women exemplify the dilemma of the resistance to militarization in the GDR and the rejection of military service for reasons of conscience. Those who choose to use Western media to publicize their concerns--and there is no other possibility--must be prepared for the official accusation of playing into the hands of the "class enemy." Those who eschew publicity must assume that their protests will be disregarded.

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SED STRESSES 'CREATIVE APPLICATION' OF MARXIST THEORY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 82 pp 1-3

/Lead article: "These of SED Central Committee on 1983 Karl Marx Year." For related information see translations of articles by various GDR scholars and an SED functionary, published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Marx's Teachings to Be Applied 'Creatively' in 1980's Economic Strategy," 82395, 6 Dec 82, No 2082, pp 22-24; "Marxism to Provide 'Research Method,' Not 'Ready-Made Dogmas,'" 82376, 3 Dec 82, No 2081, pp 23-25; "'Common Class Features' Between Religion, Marxism Emphasized," 80540, 12 Apr 82, No 1998, pp 37-45; "Kant's Philosophy Viewed as 'Source of Marxism,'" 79476, 19 Nov 81, No 1943, pp 17-19; "Intensification of Marxist-Leninist Study in Schools Urged," 80283, 10 Mar 82, No 1986, pp 39-44

/Excerpt/ IV. Real Socialism--Implementation of Marx's Ideas

20. Real socialism was born in struggle. It needed fierce class wars to wrest power from the bourgeoisie and achieve the rule of the working class and its allies. Together with socialism, qualitatively new factors arose to affect world history. Influenced by socialism, the social and national wars of liberation of the peoples experienced a tremendous upsurge. The practical implementation of Marx's ideas, the strength of socialism and the policies of the socialist countries are now the backbone of the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress.

In our time, especially when human civilization is threatened as never before by imperialist rearmament, when capitalism is less than ever able to find the way out of its crises, socialism is turning out to be that social order able to resolve the fundamental problems of society and mankind. Imperialism tries to force the socialist countries to their knees by military interventions and wars, economic boycotts and embargoes. In these circumstances of fierce class conflict, socialism permits the economic, social and cultural ascent of the people by the rapid development of productive forces. Socialism guarantees a high standard of social security, public education, the cultural activities of the masses, the democratic involvement of the workers. By abolishing exploitation, guaranteeing the right to work and other genuine basic rights and freedoms, replacing rivalry by comradely cooperation and competition, it created altogether novel opportunities for the development of all members of society. It is one of the outstanding and historical achievements of socialism that it created genuine freedom and democracy, guaranteed by its economic and political bases. For the first time in history the creators of social wealth are also

able to make prevail their interests in work--the most important sphere of human life--and effectively help decide enterprise, municipal and total societal issues.

As a consequence of real socialism a society has arisen with a policy and social practice, ideology, culture and ethic that are the highest expression of humanist ideals and the aspiration of mankind in our time. In fierce class conflicts the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party entirely in Marx's spirit, has been able to "overthrow all conditions in which man is a debased, enslaved, lost and despised being," so that "man (should) become the highest being for man."<sup>14</sup> As the working class can liberate itself only by abolishing all exploitation and classes as such, it becomes the social standard bearer of a consistent humanism. By constructing socialism and, later, communism, the working class together with its allies creates those economic social organizations that, as Marx wrote, "ensure the all-round development of man by the greatest upsurge of the productive forces of social labor."<sup>15</sup>

21. The organization of the developed socialist society in several countries of the socialist community bears witness to the great dynamism and developmental capacity of socialism. At the beginning of the 1980's the socialist society is on the offensive against all challenges of the new decade. It successfully passes the test of history whenever it is led by a Marxist-Leninist party close to the masses, that creatively applies Marxism-Leninism to new needs and tasks. The imperialist prophecies of a "crisis of socialism" and the more recent assertions of a "crisis of Marxism" are merely ideological reactions to the advance of the forces of social progress. They serve the aim to dam the vitality and attraction of real socialism and divert attention from the truly profound and insoluble crisis of capitalism. The transition to the 1980's initiated a new chapter in the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism. Whatever shape these conflicts will assume in our decade, real socialism now has available the potentials and forces needed to thwart the imperialist crusades and further to shift the international balance of power in its favor.

22. Real socialism emerged consequent upon the--so far--most profound revolutionary transformation in history, achieved by the popular masses themselves, led by the working class and its party: As a result of the socialist revolution, first essentially defined by Marx. Since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution we have seen confirmed in many other countries, including the German Democratic Republic, that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be managed successfully only if the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction prevail and are creatively applied to the respective historic-concrete conditions and national peculiarities. In view of the different historical and national conditions in which the various countries are approaching socialism, the revolutionary process has obviously varied considerably, and the various stages have lasted for longer or shorter periods. All the more important is the observance of the dialectic of generally applicable inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and the concrete-historical peculiarities. The historical experiences of all socialist countries prove that the reorganization of society as a whole presumes the conquest of power by the working class, the steady consolidation of the socialist state power and the evolution of socialist democracy. It requires the victory of socialist production conditions in all sectors of the economy, the most rapid development of productive forces and socialist planning. Needed for this achievement is the firm alliance between the working class, the farmers, the intelligentsia and other working people.

The socialist revolution demands the consistent application of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The transformation of social conditions is accompanied by a revolution in the field of culture and ideology. Here Marxism-Leninism becomes the dominant ideology. Just as the historical advance toward socialism can prevail only in the fiercest class struggle, the achievements of socialism must be defended against all counterrevolutionary attacks, whether from the inside or the outside. The fundamental inevitabilities of the socialist construction and the socialist revolution are valid also in the period of the organization of the developed socialist society. Their consistent observance guarantees the stability of socialism.

23. At this point in time real socialism has a theoretically backed and practically tested social strategy for the accomplishment of its current tasks on the way to communism. This is the conception of the developed socialist society, the result of the common creative application of the findings and ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V.I. Lenin by the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries. The doctrine of the developed socialist society is of fundamental strategic importance. It is among the most important achievements of the creative further development of Marxism-Leninism in the present age. It provides the theoretical base for the further organization of socialism consonant with present and future world historical conditions that are characterized mainly by the policy of more acute economic, political and military confrontation as pursued by the most aggressive circles--especially of U.S. imperialism--, a new stage in the conflict between socialism and imperialism, and by profoundly changed internal and external reproduction conditions in the economy. This doctrine allows the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries to resolve for the benefit of the working class and all other working people such fundamental problems of the age as the security of peace, the conduct of the scientific-technological revolution, dynamic economic growth, the guarantee of work and education, health and comprehensive social security, the rational utilization of nature and environmental control.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist community of nations interpret the organization of the developed socialist society as being a long-term and inevitable process in the development of the communist organization of society. In the course of this it is necessary for fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism to be created. It is a historical process of profound qualitative and quantitative political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural change, in the course of which socialism fully brings to bear its benefits and inherent motive forces. On the agenda at this stage in terms of history is the implementation of Lenin's demand: "In the final analysis productivity is the most important factor, crucial for the victory of the new social system...Capitalism can be definitely conquered and will be definitely conquered because socialism will create a new and far greater productivity."<sup>16</sup> The organization of developed socialism is characterized by the indivisible unity of economic and social policy, the comprehensive transition to intensively expanded reproduction, the organic link between the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and advantages of the socialist society, the greater social activism, collectivism and consciousness of the working people and the growing leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party. In this process the socialist national culture is extensively further developed and the general standard of education raised. Socialist culture, defined by the goals and ideals of the working class, absorbs the progressive heritage of all earlier cultural developments and



is a vital element of social progress. It encourages efficiency, social activism and the socialist lifestyle. It provides strong motivation for the spreading of the socialist ideology, greater technical and political skills, the evolution and satisfaction of many intellectual and esthetic needs. The growing educational potential increasingly turns into a qualitative growth factor for the socialist community.

24. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany has provided a constructive contribution to the drafting and establishment of the conception of developed socialism. By the creative application of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the GDR it has proven in practice that socialism is the only possible approach even in a highly developed industrial country with a view to settling the issues vital to the working people and guaranteeing social progress. Its ambitious policy of consistently improving the people's material and cultural living standards on the basis of the dynamic development of productive forces makes the GDR a stable factor in the international class conflict and the struggle for peace. The SED's close links with the masses result from its clear Marxist-Leninist strategy. For the longest time the SED has considered politico-ideological work the very core of party work and devotes the utmost attention to the systematic propagation of the scientific ideology of the working class. The SED has proven to be a worthy administrator of the Marxist heritage.

Based upon a thorough analysis of the new internal and external trends, the Tenth SED Congress fashioned a scientifically established social strategy for the 1980's. It decided to continue the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy even in the new and different circumstances. Rapid and stable economic growth, based on the extensive intensification of production, will ensure ongoing economic and social progress. The purposeful utilization of the advantages of social production is aimed at making even more effective in production the achievements of science and technology. The strengthening of economic capacity is here linked more and more closely with advances in the social, intellectual-cultural and politico-ideological fields. Important other concerns are the gradual approximation of working and living conditions in urban and rural areas, the full utilization of the motive forces of cooperative property and cooperative democracy. A rising volume, improved quality and greater efficiency of production and other economic activities are the indispensable conditions for the successful development of all sectors of social life. Other vital prerequisites are the active repercussions of the socialist lifestyle and the consolidation of socialist consciousness on all economic activity, so as to fully free the motive forces of economic and social progress.

The strengthening of the economic power of socialism by the transition to intensively expanded reproduction is an indispensable condition for the all-round reinforcement of its status in the struggle for the preservation of world peace. It is an important contribution to the further shift in the balance of power toward the forces of peace, to successfully counter the confrontation course of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, thwart imperialism's economic warfare against socialism and preserve peace. In our age economics has become the main battlefield in the international class war. The fundamental tasks for the further realization of the conception of developed socialism can be accomplished only by the joint efforts of the countries of the socialist community of nations. The SED therefore advocates the further deepening of its all-round cooperation and, especially, socialist economic integration.

25. By the economic strategy for the 1980's, adopted at the Tenth SED Congress, the SED boasts a comprehensive concept for the transition to the intensively expanded reproduction of our national economy. This is largely based on basic doctrinal findings, defined initially by Karl Marx, in particular in his magnum opus "Das Kapital." It represents the creative application of the Marxist-Leninist reproduction theory in actual GDR conditions. Vital trends of the development of productive forces such as micro electronics, robot technology, modern materials and energy conserving processes are intimately linked with the basic conditions and requirements of the organization of economic reproduction processes. The party organizes the struggle for lowering the consumption of energy, raw materials and other materials, for the careful handling of all natural resources and for the reduction in the expenditure of live labor as reflected in shorter working hours and job elimination. It directs the initiatives of the working people to the assurance of the greatest possible efficiency of basic assets and investments. Strong efforts are being made to raise product quality and export strength. The available production, scientific and educational potential provides the necessary conditions for the needed growth of GDR economic strength. Unprecedented challenges confront the creativity of the working people. This calls for the general improvement of politico-ideological work and for the development of the appropriate attitudes and behavior.

26. Scientific-technological progress has turned into the vital source of economic growth. That is why the SED enjoins us "to take a new step in the linkage of the advantages of socialism and the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution."<sup>17</sup> An efficient scientific-technological potential has been created and the alliance between the working class and the scientific-technical intelligentsia reinforced. Consonant with the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution far more money is being spent on science, technology and education. By creating and further developing the combines in industry, construction and other sectors, indispensable prerequisites have been created for the close linkage of science, technology, production and marketing. In view of the significant and growing role of science and technology in the international class conflict, top international standards must be the sole criteria for scientific-technological performances. That is why the profits arising from scientific-technological work and its contribution to the improvement of productivity and efficiency must be distinctly raised. In imperialism scientific-technological advances result in crises, profound social contradictions and social collapse. Socialism proves its historical superiority by, among others, purposefully translating scientific-technological progress into progress in the interest of the working people. It ensures full employment, improvements in working and living conditions, free health care, free access to all stages of education and comprehensive social security.

27. Dynamic and consistent economic growth is the indispensable prerequisite for securing the achievements of socialism and their gradual extension. Confirmed in this process is the forecast by Karl Marx that, after the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation, all classes and strata may join in endeavors for economic and social advance, because their basic interests then coincide. The continuing evolution, consolidation and development of the coincidence of social, collective and individual interests is the basic type of movement of the qualitatively new contradictions of socialism and, at the same time, the approach to their conscious use as the motive forces of social progress. The SED endeavors to mobilize all motive



forces of socialism for the greatest possible growth of performance. The decisive approach to this is the consistent application of the socialist performance principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his performance." Karl Marx formulated this in his "Kritik des Gothaer Programms" /Critique of the Gotha Program/ as the principle of socialism and gave it a doctrinal foundation. A close link exists between the policy of the main task and the party's purposeful ideological work. Its observance allows us extensively to develop the motive forces of socialism and strengthen the links between the party, the working class and all working people. Especially in view of the greater challenges offered by the 1980's, this trust between party and people is demonstrably a factor of the social and political stability of our society as well as the vital motivation for continuing social advances.

28. All the experiences of our age fully confirm Marx's fundamental appreciation that the working class needs above all a revolutionary party "so as to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and its highest aim, the abolition of classes."<sup>18</sup> It absolutely needed a party guided by scientific socialism to enable the working class in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to tackle its world historic mission and step by step realize it. The successful accomplishment of the tasks involved in the transition from capitalism to socialism and the continued pursuit of the united revolutionary process by the construction of developed socialism can be guaranteed only by a party capable of handling the demands of the age in terms of theory and practice, of creatively applying the general historical inevitabilities and linked firmly to the masses.

Analogous to the CPSU and other communist parties in the socialist countries, the SED assumes that the organization of the developed socialist society makes greater demands on the leadership abilities of the party, and that the party's responsibility for the development of the socialist society is steadily growing. So as to translate the advantages of socialism into practical politics appropriate to the new conditions and requirements, the party's political direction of social processes must be further improved. In this spirit the Tenth SED Congress called for the assurance of collectivism, personal responsibility, innerparty democracy and absolute fidelity to all resolutions everywhere, down to every work collective, so as to produce initiatives for the greatest possible growth of performance. The SED devotes the utmost attention to the working people's political consciousness and the encouragement of their activism and willingness to serve. The consolidation of affection between party and people is an inalienable basic principle of its entire policy. "Supported by constant discussion with the working people, their wealth of experiences, our party advances--teaching the masses and, at the same time, learning from them."<sup>19</sup>

29. At this time millions of people in all continents couple the name of Karl Marx with the prospect of a peaceful life, socialist security and the free development of their creative abilities. The popular masses link the name of Karl Marx with their revolutionary struggle so as to move humanist ideals from the realm of utopian longings and desires to the area of historical reality. The vitality of the revolutionary doctrine established by Marx and Engels and further developed by Lenin has strong roots indeed: Marxism-Leninism is based on objective inevitabilities, on real conditions and thus arrives at the real approach to the goals possible in the respective stage. All other ideologies--bourgeois, social-reformist or ultra leftist--deny the laws of social development. Their sociopolitical strategies are therefore condemned

to failure. Marxism-Leninism trusts the creativity of the popular masses as a historical fact. The scientific policies of the Marxist-Leninist parties liberate the revolutionary potentials of the masses and, by way of consciousness and organization, provide them with the weapons needed for the victorious struggle for peace, social progress and a decent life in a society free from exploitation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels: "Das Begraebnis von Karl Marx" /Karl Marx's Funeral/, in Marx-Engels Collected Works (hereinafter designated MEW), Vol 19, p 336.
2. V.I. Lenin: "The Historical Fates of Karl Marx's Doctrine," in Collected Works, Vol 18, p 576.
3. Karl Marx: "Das Kapital, Volume 1," in MEW, Vol 23, p 791.
4. Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "Communist Manifesto," in MEW, Vol 4, p 481.
5. Karl Marx: "Der Buergerkrieg in Frankreich" /The French Civil War/, in MEW, Vol 17, p 342.
6. F. Engels, "Address to a Social Democrat Meeting in Vienna on 14 Seotember 1893," in MEW, Vol 22, p 410.
7. V.I. Lenin, "The Historical Fates of Karl Marx's Doctrine," in Collected Works, Vol 18, p 578.
8. "Protokoll des Gruendungsparteitages der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands" /Minutes of the Founding Party Congress of the Communist Party of Germany/, Berlin 1972, p 202.
9. Karl Marx: "Inaugural Address of the International Workers' Association," in MEW, Vol 16, p 13.
10. Karl Marx: "First Address on the German-French War," in MEW, Vol 17, p 7.
11. Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "Communist Manifesto," in MEW, Vol 4 p 468.
12. Karl Marx: "Address to the National Workers' Union of the United States," in MEW, Vol 16, p 357.
13. Karl Marx: "Inaugural Address of the International Workers' Association," in MEW, Vol 16 p 13.
14. Karl Marx: "Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie. Einleitung" /On the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of the Law. Introduction/, in MEW, Vol 1, p 385.
15. Karl Marx: "Letter to the Editorial Board of "OTECHESTVENNYE SAPISKI," in MEW, Vol 19, p 111.

16. V.I. Lenin: "The Great Initiative," in Collected Works, Vol 29, p 416.
17. "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" /Minutes of the Transactions at the Tenth SED Congress/, Vol 1, Berlin 1981, p 65.
18. Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: "Resolutions of the General Congress in The Hague from 2-7 September 1872," in MEW, Vol 18, p 149.
19. "Minutes of the Transactions at the Tenth SED Congress," Vol 1, p 132.

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US-WEST EUROPE 'DIVERGENCIES' IMPACT ON 'SOCIALIST COMMUNITY' ANALYZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 178, 23 Nov 82 pp 1-2

/Report from Berlin: "GDR Does Not Count on Quick Settlement of Divergencies Within NATO." A translation of the East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE article cited below follows this commentary

/Text/ The GDR does not expect a quick end to the differences of opinion on foreign affairs and defense between the United States and its West European Allies. The IPW-BERICHTE (No 11, 1982), issued by the Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW), an institution close to the East Berlin Government, says that the "basic dissension" within NATO is "not a phenomenon likely to disappear soon or to be dealt with without considerable difficulties and efforts." The serious conflict regarding the gas pipeline business sharply illuminated the depth of the rift between the United States and Western Europe with respect to important politico-strategic issues. Moreover it made obvious the U.S. attempt as far as possible to restore its former "dominant position" as the leading power in the West. The European NATO states now face the dilemma that, by more or less swinging in behind the American policy of confrontation, they are bound "more and more to contradict their own best interests." In any case the further development of divergencies between the United States and Western Europe regarding their attitude to the socialist countries is "of immense importance for the future international climate."

GDR Political Journal's Analysis

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 11 No 11, Nov 82 pp 8-12, 18

/Analyses-Problems' feature article by Martin Winter: "Contradictions Between USA and West Europe Over Conduct of International Relations: Coexistence of Confrontation and Detente Trends--Specific Interests of West European States--Demands of Our Times: Maintaining and Securing Peace"

/Text/ At the present time a fierce struggle is being waged between the forces favoring detente and those favoring confrontation. It is concerned with the future organization of international relations. In this conflict the West European imperialist

power center occupies a special place: On the one hand the system-inherent aggressiveness of these countries as well as their politico-strategic incorporation in the NATO Alliance provide the basis for going along with the policy of confrontation pursued by the United States, the leading power. On the other hand, the West European countries are increasingly interested in detente, especially due to their specific geo-strategic and economic situation as well as--based on the former--their different conceptions of the struggle against socialism. The development of this contradiction is extremely important with a view to the question whether it is possible for peaceful coexistence to prevail between countries with different social systems.

The past 10 years were a period of relative detente. Now the trend of international relations has entered a new stage. Its course to this point is characterized mainly by two features:

The first feature is the enormous increase in tension between the NATO Bloc and the countries of the socialist community as well as the growth of international conflicts. They arise from the adventurist imperialist attempt with the help of the infamous policy of dealing from strength to obstruct and reverse the shift of international power toward socialism and the other anti-imperialist forces. The inspiration and main impetus of this policy derives from the most aggressive circles in the United States and NATO. These aim, moreover, to compensate the severe convulsions to which the imperialist ruling system is exposed as a consequence of an unprecedented conjunction of economic, social and political crises.

This trend to growing tensions has already reached a very dangerous extent and threatens to become the dominating element in international politics unless stopped by the resistance of all peaceful forces.

The second feature is this: The course of events is also determined by opposite factors, working toward the rescue and revival of detente. The following are the two decisive and most influential factors from the international aspect:

-- The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Their consistent and constructive peace policy gives rise to constantly novel and more lasting impulses and actions designed to foil the imperialist line of confrontation;

-- The qualitative growth and unique upsurge of the international peace movement that ranges from the working class to the more realistic circles of the grand bourgeoisie in the United States and other NATO countries.

Also extraordinarily important are the contradictions that are obviously arising between the current militarist and hegemonist course of the U.S. Administration and more realistic trends in the opinions and practical politics of ruling circles in Western Europe with regard to the organization of relations with the socialist countries. These are an objective reserve to be exploited for the realization of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.<sup>1</sup>

## Common Imperialist Goals

The United States is not solely responsible for the tremendous deterioration in the international situation and the increasing danger of war ensuing thereby. In the West European NATO countries also confrontational features and elements came to the fore toward the end of the 1970's. More and more seriously these adversely affected the operation of those elements of practical politics, that are directed to the pursuit of detente and the development of mutually profitable and peaceful cooperation with the socialist countries.

The West European NATO countries, primarily the most influential ones, largely support the focal point of the leading imperialist power's course of confrontation--the policy of rearmament. That applies especially to the emplacement of new medium-range American nuclear weapons on the territories of these countries (in particular the FRG), envisaged for 1983. A recent proof of this agreement between the West European Allies and the United States is represented by the April 1982 signature of a treaty between the FRG and the United States on the material and manpower aspects of the emplacement of six additional U.S. divisions on the territory of the FRG in so-called crisis periods.

There are various reasons for the fact that the West European NATO countries actually support the United States in the reinforcement of military confrontation and the attempt to destroy the approximate balance of power between the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Europe.

1. The ruling circles in the United States and the other imperialist power centers are all vitally interested in pushing back real socialism and, of course, all other forces of international social progress. This system-inherent community of interests as well as the resulting strategic dependence of the West European NATO countries enable the United States steadily to influence its Allies so as to tie them especially to the military aspects of the course of confrontation.

2. In this context the ruling circles of Western Europe also consider arms modernization an indispensable means for achieving imperialist class goals vis-a-vis the countries of socialism. That accounts for their interest in concentrating a strong military force at the borders with the socialist community of nations, supported by the preeminent U.S. nuclear weapons potential and its troops stationed in Western Europe.

3. The politics of, in particular, the major West European NATO countries are much affected by the highly developed arms industry as well as by influential political forces who largely--albeit not unconditionally--support the Reagan Administration's confrontation course.

The West European NATO countries' active involvement in forced arms modernization is a phenomenon of the trend toward the closing of ranks by the imperialist forces against real socialism, against progressive change in the world. At the same time, however, the operation of this trend is definitely limited by an unusual exacerbation of the dissensions among the imperialist countries.

## Imperialist Divergencies Touch Upon Strategically Relevant Sectors

Considerable differences between the United States and its West European NATO partners have arisen against the background of common imperialist goals in the international class conflict. In the first place they involve the central issue of the organization of relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

A few months after the inauguration of the Reagan Administration a well-known FRG political scientist defined the focus of these conflicts in an important article. He noted that the consensus arrived at by NATO in 1967 was at issue. This consensus spelled out that both the so-called military deterrence and "detente" oriented to imperialist class goals "should represent vital elements of Western attitudes toward the East."<sup>2</sup>

This and similar pronouncements suggest a new quality in the divergencies between the United States and its Western Allies with regard to East-West relations. It is no longer a matter exclusively of differences on tactics such as characterized the 1970's; now they touch upon strategically relevant sectors. Basically involved here within the framework of a generally more confrontational course of all imperialist powers is the rivalry of two strategic concepts that, admittedly, do not totally exclude one another and in practical terms indeed sometimes overlap.

The Reagan Administration is totally committed to a policy of military strength. This does not mean simply the restoration of military superiority by a colossal investment in imperialist arms modernization. It is evident from the sensational revelations in the U.S. press that the Pentagon<sup>3</sup> plans the conduct of an extended nuclear war against the USSR and its allies. In this scenario the U.S. nuclear forces are assigned the task to "gain the upper hand."<sup>4</sup> Rejecting any detente, the Reagan Administration moreover calls for a comprehensive anti-Soviet and antisocialist crusade with every imaginable attribute designed to poison the international climate--from psychological warfare via trade and economic sanctions to the destruction of the network of treaty relations created in the 1970's between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe.

In the face of this "strategy of total confrontation"--the description of a well-known FRG journalist--the West European NATO countries, at their head the FRG, try to preserve the so-called dual NATO strategy that is supposed to retain its mandatory power. Though they also advocate greater emphasis on the military factor, including efforts to achieve unilateral advantages for NATO, they champion the continued pursuit of the political dialogue and cooperation with the socialist countries.

The basic conceptual dissension between the United States and its West European Allies must evidently be considered against the background of their common interests that continue to dominate. "When it comes to the crunch, we will stand by America, right or wrong." This statement, once uttered by former French President Giscard d'Estain, was quoted in early 1982 by a respected FRG newspaper as "still applicable maxim of the Europeans,"<sup>5</sup> and the paper was probably quite right.

On the other hand the basic conflict is not a passing phenomenon that can be dealt with without considerable difficulties and efforts.

## Differing Interests of the United States and Western Europe

The disadvantages and hazards of a more extensive involvement in the escalation of confrontation pursued by the Reagan Administration are recognized by all realistic statesmen and politicians, leading business groups, many newspaper and political scientists in Europe. That applies especially with regard to the foreseeable consequences of current U.S. politics for the safety of peace and security on the European Continent.

For example, a report on a conference of experts from the FRG and the USA on the question of detente said "the results of the defense of the FRG" by nuclear means "would hardly differ from those of a defeat,"<sup>6</sup>

In a 1981 lecture, SPD disarmament expert E. Bahr stressed that the NATO strategy of "flexible response" was nothing but "shifting the hazard to the forefront,"<sup>7</sup> in other words to Europe, so as to keep the territory of the United States outside a Soviet nuclear reaction.

At the present time responsible FRG politicians admit the concept of a "security partnership" with the socialist countries. Their main reason is their interest in the survival of their country, located directly at the border between imperialism and socialism, between the military potentials confronting one another.<sup>8</sup> "Security must needs be common to us all; we will survive only together with the opponent, not against him." E. Bahr describes this theorem as "the law of the nuclear age."<sup>9</sup>

The extraordinarily explosive nature of this problem for relations between the United States and its Western NATO Allies was again demonstrated in connection with the Pentagon plans (mentioned earlier) regarding the increase in the ability to conduct a prolonged nuclear war against the USSR and win it at the cost of millions of lives.

Initially the governments of the West European NATO countries failed to comment at all. The imperialist mass media, on the other hand, tried to soften the shock effect of this nuclear planning--adventurist and cold bloodedly hazarding the physical survival of U.S. Allies--by suggesting that this was merely a draft not yet approved by President Reagan. Nevertheless it was impossible to miss the concern for the future of Western Europe--dictated by the very instinct for survival--in the face of the more and more incalculable leading imperialist power. This concern was expressed in various statements.

Entirely justified concern caused the editorial writer of the well-known London newspaper THE GUARDIAN to note that the U.S. President appeared "unconsciously to challenge Western Europe to abandon the Alliance and stand on its own feet."<sup>10</sup>

FRG Bundestag deputy H. Scheer said the FRG should "free itself" from such strategists and "proceed independently in institutional, strategic and political terms." It was imperative to see that the safety of the country should "not be threatened by gamblers."<sup>11</sup>

Of course such far reaching conclusions are not yet among the seriously considered options of West European governments. Still, their very discussion by the West European public reveals two factors:



1. More than ever before and with a completely new quality also, the conflict of interests between the United States and its West European NATO partners affects the military and defense aspect.

2. Due precisely to the Reagan Administration's defense policy, permeated by militarism and chauvinism, relations between the two imperialist power centers--the United States and Western Europe--are even more strained.

The latest developments permit of no doubt about the fact that the West European NATO countries would be adversely affected from other aspects also if they were fully and completely to swing behind the confrontation course of the leading imperialist power.

That applies in particular to economic and trade relations between Western Europe and the countries of the socialist community of nations. The stable organization and progress of such relations, after all, absolutely require the further pursuit and deepening of detente.

True, the West European countries conduct the major part of their foreign trade within the framework of the capitalist economic system. Nevertheless economic and trade exchanges with the socialist countries is more important to them than to the United States. Decisive in this context are objective reasons such as their lack of domestic energy and raw material resources as well as their dependence upon imports and exports. In view of the profound crises in the capitalist part of the world, a collapse of East-West economic relations would sensibly affect the interests of the West European countries in terms of business and job security and also from the aspect of profits.

The increasing insistence of the United States on extensive participation in economic sanctions against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, required within the framework of U.S. confrontation strategy, not only conflicts with the objective interests of the West European countries, it is also bound to fail in its blackmailing objective. The more realistic political and business leaders in Western Europe are by now unable to blind themselves to this truth. U.S. sanctions are said to be suitable at best "for satisfying psychological-emotional needs in the country imposing them" or fit to be used "to influence internal discussions and disputes."<sup>12</sup>

The reservations of these circles with regard to the application of economic sanctions are also the reflection of a politico-strategic approach to the system's contest with real socialism. Despite some similarities, this approach clearly differs from that of the Reagan Administration.

The starting point is the view that a certain acceptance of peaceful coexistence as pursued by the socialist countries with regard to states with different social systems has become vital and indeed indispensable in the circumstances of the current international balance of power. This includes progressive cooperation with the socialist countries, and that cooperation is moreover designed to be used to fight real socialism with political, economic and ideological means.

According to that conception the political function of East-West economic relations does not imply their use as an instrument for exerting economic pressure that may have no more than short-term effects, if any, vide the imposition of sanctions by the Reagan Administration. This function is instead considered to be the "incorporation" of the socialist countries in a "network of economic interaction." The consequence in the long run would be "to begin with actually to create potentially useful political levers."<sup>13</sup>

#### Drastic Exacerbation of the Differences of Opinion

The depth of American-West European divergencies with regard to East-West relations was revealed to the extent that the Reagan Administration pursued its attempt deliberately to destroy the network of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries in Europe, that had emerged in the 1970's. Instead the U.S. Administration sought to propel its West European Allies toward a regular economic war against the socialist community of nations, to include trade, credit and scientific-technological exchange.

Indicating their specific interests, the governments of the FRG, France and other West European NATO countries refused even at the turn of 1981/1982 to take part in the more extensive and far reaching economic sanctions against the USSR, that the Reagan Administration had requested in the pursuit of its interference (illegal from the aspect of international law) in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Poland.

At that time the Hamburg newspaper DIE ZEIT wrote that the firmness of the government and influential business circles in the FRG in maintaining trade with the USSR was "not dictated by petty shopkeeper instincts." Of far greater weight were the "special concerns of a frontier state in the East-West crush." These involved in particular the situation of West Berlin, the organization of relations with the GDR and--as confirmed by the earlier mentioned intention to "incorporate" the socialist countries by means of economic and other relations--the "possibility of a differentiated development in the Eastern Bloc."<sup>14</sup>

In his capacity as FRG Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt justified his policy in an interview with a French review. He said it was "the consequence of the geostrategic situation inherited by our country and our people from the war."<sup>15</sup>

Still, the most serious and committed resistance of the European NATO countries was aroused last summer by the U.S. Government's maneuvers to block the gas pipeline business, concluded at the end of 1981.

In view of this embargo, the European Council--the conference of state and government chiefs of the EEC countries--considered itself obliged at the end of June 1982 to issue a collective declaration, stating quite unambiguously that the U.S. action violated principles of international law and "seriously threatened the system of free world trade."<sup>16</sup>

The EEC countries' "European Parliament" called for the issue of special EEC regulations to prevent the application of the U.S. embargo imposed on the gas pipeline business.

The FRG Government proclaimed its intention not to participate in economic warfare against the Soviet Union. The conclusion of an agreement on a loan framework on the gas pipeline business in July 1982 between the USSR Foreign Trade Bank and the FRG Deutsche Bank confirmed the wish of the participating FRG business circles to realize this project in the teeth of the U.S. Administration's objections and boycott.

When French and British firms began delivering the equipment ordered by the Soviet Union in late 1982, the Reagan Administration's embargo was in effect shattered. Indicating the illegality in international law of U.S. attitudes, the FRG Government encouraged the firm AEG-Kanis to meet its contractual obligations regarding the delivery of gas turbines for the Soviet-West Europe pipeline.<sup>17</sup> The Italian firm Nuovo Pignone, a subsidiary of the state owned ENI Corporation, also decided not to obey the Washington embargo.

The U.S. Administration reacted by imposing sanctions on the French firms Dresser France and Creuset-Loire. Accordingly U.S. American firms may no longer supply these two firms with goods, technological equipment and services. Similar action was threatened with respect to other foreign firms unless they observed the embargo against the USSR.

However, the Reagan Administration was soon compelled to announce that it was going to somewhat ease the penalties imposed on the French firm Dresser France. This did not, though, signify the beginning of the abandonment of their strategic goal--to sink economic cooperation by countries with different social systems. It merely changed its tactics in view of the unanimous and serious resistance in Western Europe. That which had been designed as a blow to the Soviet economy, has clearly turned into a test of strength between the United States and its West European Allies. Moreover this happened at a time when U.S.-EEC economic relations were exposed to exceptional strains in other respects also, such as interest rates and steel imports.

The intense struggle for the gas pipeline business did more than sharply illuminate the yawning rift that has opened between the United States and its West European Allies on important politico-strategic issues regarding the conduct of the system dispute. It also underlined an extremely important subsidiary goal of the harsh U.S. confrontation policy: The attempt as far as possible to restore its preeminence as the leading imperialist power and, by brutal disciplinary measures adopted in the name of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, to weaken the other imperialist power centers or powers in the competitive struggle in a severe crisis situation.

Far from fortuitously, the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU--among others--commented the U.S. President's embargo of the gas pipeline business as follows: "Evidently the United States wishes to subjugate its Allies also, compel them to fall in behind it. That, however, is not a partnership of democratic nations, it is imperialism--sheer and unadorned."<sup>18</sup>

#### International Relations at the Crossroads

The growing differences between the United States and its West European Allies as regards their attitude toward the countries of the socialist community will be of the utmost importance for the future international climate.

On the one hand the West European NATO countries will endeavor to maintain "Atlantic unity and discipline," given the common class interest with Washington and the pressure exerted by the United States. Disregarding some particular exceptions, they are actively preparing for the emplacement of new medium-range U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe, support the unrealistic U.S. negotiating position (infamous as the "zero option") in the talks about these weapons systems, and continue to reject the abandonment of a NATO nuclear first strike. To some extent meeting U.S. wishes, they strain the economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the socialist countries by imposing restrictions in the sphere of credit and other sectors, although they themselves advocate cooperation.

On the other hand they clearly reveal their wish to continue the political dialogue with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, and to observe contracts and agreements concluded in all kinds of sectors. This applies both to bilateral relations and to the multilateral process of peaceful cooperation in Europe, initiated by the signature of the 1975 Helsinki final communique.

Unfortunately the West European NATO countries are confronted with the dilemma that any future and major step requested and pursued by the United States to reinforce the political and military confrontation or to organize an extensive economic war, embroils them in a steadily increasing contradiction to their own national interests.

It is becoming harder and harder to bridge these contradictions by verbal concessions. At the same time the compromises achieved last for steadily shorter periods, because they merely gloss over the contradictions. The dispute about the gas pipeline business serves as a prime example. VORWAERTS summed up this affair in summer 1982 with the following pronouncement: "Diplomatic formulas alone will not suffice if the European countries wish to counteract this hazardous course of their leading power."<sup>19</sup>

The West European NATO countries are quite capable of compelling the United States at least to some extent to consider their interests. This is indicated especially by the current balance of strength between the United States and the West European imperialist power center. In the present situation the United States is no longer able fully to impose on its Allies the policies unacceptable to them. At the same time Western Europe is not strong enough to make its interests prevail against the United States without being ready to accept some compromises.<sup>20</sup>

The shift in strength between the two power centers did, however, result in the emergence of a mutual dependency. The United States is certainly able to largely impose its opinions on its West European Allies. Still, at the same time some consideration for West European interests is compelling, in view of U.S. interest in maintaining and strengthening Western Europe's function as an imperialist bridgehead on the Continent of Europe.

In these circumstances Western Europe's policy (especially that of the strongest countries in this imperialist power center) assumes increased importance for the prospects of detente, the prevention of a worldwide nuclear disaster.

The realistic assessment of the current situation was expressed last spring by L.I. Brezhnev. He said "international relations generally have now arrived at a

defined crossroads."<sup>21</sup> It remains to be seen whether developments will follow a trend toward the further exacerbation of confrontation and a balance act on the brink of hot war, or proceed in the direction of the strengthening of peace, the revival of detente and the evolution of cooperation.

As we all know, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are sticking to their principled line of acting for the realization of peaceful co-existence between socialist and capitalist countries, even in view of the acute imperialist line of confrontation. It is very much up to those carrying the political responsibilities in Western Europe to utilize the existing opportunities in their own well understood interest. Growing sections of West European countries are well aware of this need, and they are endeavoring to influence a development designed to make peace more secure.

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DAILY SURVEYS WORKERS ON STRIKES, POLITICAL SITUATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 12-14 Nov 82 pp 1, 11

[Survey by SZTANDAR MŁODYCH: "What Do You Think of Strikes and Demonstrations in the Country's Present Political Situation?" Prepared by: Ryszard Naleszkiewica]

[Text] The 10th of November has passed. For some people that date meant a hope for a victorious battle with the socialist state. Others had the hope that calm and realism would prevail. The results are known. What, however, do people think today? What opinions dominate? Do people dare to express them openly, under their own names, and who are they?

The opinions [cited] below are not a sociological study. They should not then lead one to excessive optimism. What they represent is a certain signal of social moods. To what extent a true one, the readers will decide for themselves.

Krzysztof Skibinski, metal fitter, Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk: "I think street demonstrations are senseless. It is not a method for a rebirth of 'Solidarity.' Street battles also burden the city's financial account. We have to pay for the damages from our own money. It would be better to direct these funds for other purposes than repairing the damages, for example, to lay sidewalks in new housing projects. It is difficult to evaluate the situation in the country. Perhaps it is not tragic, but it's bad. The government is doing what it can afford to do, but it can do little in the present crisis. I think that the government and the opposition are on two sides of the barricade. However, the government proposes something through clear steps and the opposition destroys it without any concrete program except fights and strikes. And street fights and strikes lead only to an economic collapse. Unnecessarily, then, we as a nation stand against each other. It would be better to march together. Consider the situation together, stop discussing so much and start working, and we will overcome and come out of the crisis."

A passerby on a Warsaw street. Young, in black leather, about 22 years old. Refused to give his name: "What should I tell you? They won't print it anyway. Only strikes can throw this regime on its knees. Or street battles."

Force is the way. We must fight--unless you call the cop on me.... The situation is not that bad. People say the warehouses are full, but the stuff is kept. I haven't seen it, but people say so...

"They dispersed us yesterday, because people are cowards. And why wasn't there a strike yesterday? Intimidation. The frightened workers--anyway, the workers prefer to look out after their own.... But the fight must go on!"

Boleslaw Musial, Radio and Television Repair Plant in Wroclaw: "A strike does not resolve anything. It can only worsen our country's already difficult economic situation. The only road remaining for the government and the workers is a widely comprehensive social understanding. We must establish its plane and both sides must make some concessions. Right now I see that there is no discussion. That's bad.... As for street demonstrations and riots, these are even worse than strikes. When production plants are idle, they simply are not producing. But during riots people destroy the produced goods, health is endangered. I think that drawing people out into the streets is a crime.

"It's good that workers have understood many things and, despite a 'blow-up' propaganda campaign, boycotted--we must define it this way--the calls for a strike. It's good that the workers did not start the street wrangles in many spots in the city. These facts should give food for thought to the opposition. They should also become the first step towards negotiations, leading to a general national understanding."

Jerzy Matejuk, director of the Voivodship Public Library in Wroclaw: "The question whether a strike is an acceptable method in Poland's present situation is being asked today by a definite majority of the society in our country. It seems to me that many people did not realize that [the strike] does not resolve anything. In the past few months a visible polarization of attitudes and ways of thinking has taken place. It has turned out that the majority thinks realistically and understands that strikes lead us all into a blind alley. We got proofs of such thinking precisely on the 10th of this month in factories and work plants.

"Of course, I'm not eliminating here the strike as an effective weapon of the working class. I'm only limiting this weapon's activity to the economic sphere. Besides, one must realize that a strike in the situation in which the country is finding itself is a two-wedged weapon--acting even harder against those, who are using it. In Poland it has somehow become accepted that a strike should be a panacea for everything. That's an error in reasoning...."

"I also think that nothing can be resolved through street riots. In Wroclaw the youth participated in them. The older generation dissociated itself. The riots were not nearly as violent as those which took place of 31 August."

Jerzy Apostel, mechanic, 1st of May Cotton Plants in Lodz: "Our situation is complex. We have something like a geography of unrest. For example, Nowa Huta, Wroclaw, Warsaw, and until recently, Gdansk: there something is always happening, some wrangles and riots. And not only youth takes part in them, let's not delude ourselves. I think the reason is that there they've heavy



industry, steel, and precision instruments industries. They make good money and this has gotten into their heads. Besides, the authorities, in order to avoid unrest, 'pump' better goods there. And here?

"Yesterday and today Lodz was calm. Well, in Pabianice, I hear, there were some brawls. Under thirty detained. But that's only hearsay. The old repertory of chants at the Holy Cross church--and that's all. Because here one works hard and earns little. When a weaver or a spinner has to run from one loom to another eight hours a day, they don't feel like rioting later on the street. And there isn't always a reason. It's clear, things are as they are and one must work harder if they are to be better at all.

"The worst problem is the young; they've had it good all the time, everybody's pampered them. Now they are eager for 'adventure.' And besides they manipulate and incite them, they want to fix their own issues through them. While the stupid youth rushes to the street, not very well knowing what for. But 'something's happening.' No one ever likes the authorities, I think, in any country. So when there is a chance, let's go.... The school's responsible above all. Also parents, as well as all that which has been happening in Poland for the last few years. And besides, those scientists, actors.... They have dough up to their ears, so they fancy boycotts. It's easy to 'oppose' in cafes. But let them stand at a machine and work...."

Genowefa Krzyzaniak, weaver, The Peace Defenders Cotton Plants UNIONTEX in Lodz, member of the ZSMP: "No strike today will resolve anything for several reasons. There are divisions among people and a part will not strike because they see that it resolves nothing. The minority will 'stick out' in the name of some indefinite support for the opposition and its leaders whom we do not know and who probably have little in common with us and our needs. On the other hand, there is the martial law. Our authorities have grown in strength, not like a year ago. Besides, the less we work, the less we produce and the less there will be to buy. Why strike then? If we don't like something in this country, there are other ways. There will probably be elections to the new Sejm, to city councils. Not according to a 'key,' but just in a human way. People will choose those they want. And there will be democratic ways to resolve issues, not through brawls on the streets."

Jan Bindyga, employee of the Municipal Transportation Establishments in Lodz: "Things are as they are. After all we all know about these divisions. On one floor of an apartment building there are several camps, neighbors have various opinions. Some anxieties are justified, because the authorities are slow, and the bureaucracy is the worst. It annoys people frightfully that those lousy bums who are responsible for the state of shops and minds today haven't yet been tried and punished....

"Or this mess with the rationing.... It is important for the people and it annoys them and pisses them, makes life difficult. There are enough troubles today without playing politics. After all, if we don't produce, we won't have! We're told all the time that the West manipulates and incites us. But I don't want shoes from the West, I want them from CHELMEK! We haven't too many liberties, but these two years have led to this! The authorities perhaps

mean well, for who wouldn't? But it's as if some dark powers made things difficult for them. And after all the authorities now are strong and are able to do much. If people saw that the authorities are really acting, perhaps they would wait for improvement more patiently. They say: opposition. But I don't know any of these gentlemen who speak for us and say when and where to demonstrate or strike..."

Piotr Krawczyk, underground metal fitter, vice president of the ZSMP in the 30-Year Anniversary Mine in Jastrzebie: "Strikes today are no solution to political, social and living conditions issues. We can get out of the crisis only through work, honest work of the whole society, and not through work stoppages. I feel the same about street demonstrations. People who go out in the streets to blow off steam should be handed shovels. Let them work. We should talk with the authorities at a table, not in the streets. The country's political situation is difficult and complicated. Very difficult. The official propaganda informs us about important events and the authorities' decisions too secretly and unclearly. It comes to this that the society no longer knows who to believe: those who are allowed to speak, or those who do it from hiding. The television and its information does not convince me personally. And that is very bad."

Leszek Grodzinski, physical therapist, the Piaskowa Gora section Clinic in Walbrzych: "Common sense suggests that joining a strike in the country's present economic situation means agreeing to the prolongation of the crisis situation. I suppose everyone is anxious for life's daily difficulties to be slowly overcome, and the only way to improvement is peaceful, undisturbed work. Only then will store shelves begin filling up."

"After yesterday, I am an optimist. I think we're over the hard part. Fewer and fewer people are attracted by the demagogical slogans. Slowly people are sobering up. I'm not expressing here just my own opinion. Our patients are of the same mind, and in many cases these are young people. They say, 'If I throw stones, I'll wait for an apartment not 10, but 20 years.' They also say that difficulties and various troubles don't give a right to sow disorder and social unrest. Deliberateness must at last prevail over hot heads."

"I'm voicing my opinion about strikes as a citizen. After all, it's obvious that disrupting work in the health service, which I represent, is something unethical in the highest degree. Such is also the opinion of my co-workers."

Mieczyslaw Jaworski, worker, Paper Plants SKOWLIN in Szczecin, 32 years old: "The best answer to various calls for strikes today is simply quiet work. We know from the past two years senseless striking for any trifle and I think everybody has learned that it is not a method to resolve the workers' problems. No honest person will participate in a street demonstration where destruction is widespread and stones thrown. We all know in what situation we find ourselves and how difficult it is to live."

"To destroy is to impoverish ourselves even further. I would define the situation in the country as one of waiting. We are waiting, for example, to see what the new trade unions will reveal, but we're not trying to influence

their shape or activity. We're waiting for an improvement of the economic situation, and thus of our living conditions, but only a few realize that better work is necessary to achieve improvement."

It is difficult to comment on this survey. It bears witness to the change in the social atmosphere, to a considerable subsiding and passing of emotions. People are slowly realizing, except for a few fanatics, that without work, without producing goods, there will be nothing to spread around.'

At the same time, however, a mood of expectation shows through the answers.

The workers' answers are hard and simple. Workers do not change. They have no ambition for grand political interpretations. They see their politics, their own business indeed through the prism of "looking out after their own," as the invincible Warsaw youth spitefully remarked. Yet this very perspective is for all of us, including the most sophisticated intellectuals, an important and perhaps the most important issue.

It seems to me that if these same workers maintain for the time being, for the duration of the crisis, the "look out after their own" perspective, they will pull us up faster from the hole we're all in.

And if they continue to watch the actions of the authorities constructively they will not let us be maneuvered into such a deep hole ever again.

12270

CSO: 2600/97

YOUNG WORKERS SURVEYED ON SOCIAL, PROFESSIONAL SITUATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 3 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Krzysztaf Stanislawiak: "Alarm Bell"]

[Text] On the initiative of the Socialist Youth Factory Organization of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), surveys have been conducted on the social-vocational situation of young workers at URSUS Mechanical Works (ZM). The surveys included 2,068 persons who are up to 30 years of age; that is, approximately 30 percent of the total young URSUS workers; 71.4 percent are manual laborers.

For a majority, URSUS Mechanical Works (ZM) is the primary (60.4 percent of those surveyed) or secondary (25.2 percent) place of work. Do the youth find here their own "place on earth?"

In practice everything indicates that the youth will look for another firm in which to work. In order to understand this, it is enough to look closely at some figures contained in the study.

Let us start with salaries. More than half of those interviewed, (54.8 percent) earn less than 5,000 zlotys. The next 21.3 percent earn between 5,000 and 6,000 zlotys. The conclusions are self-evident. Especially if we consider the fact that more than half of those surveyed have established their families and most of them have one or more children.

In these circumstances there is the basic question of how to live and how to make ends meet? One solution is often simply the decision to change jobs. In fact, a number of those interviewed admit to these plans. If in addition we realize that 83.3 percent of those surveyed do not have their own apartment, we may be willing to agree with the opinion of the authors of this study that "...such a high percentage rate of failing to meet the basic needs of young workers may bring about a number of serious problems and has an effect on the increasing frustration of the young generation." This expression may seem too trite. Translated into everyday language, it means that there is no feeling of security, that decisions are being postponed about marriage and children and that, in comparison to one's peers who have apartments, one is left behind in terms of social existence--while time passes by.

And what is worse, there is no hope for a speedy solution to the problem. One may of course dream. After all, is not the dream indicated, in the answers to the questionnaires, by the interests in various forms of house construction?

What can be done to make these dreams come true? What forms of pressure and social initiative have to be used? Why is it that the work place, in this case URSUS, has so little to offer its employees?

Can we talk at all about concern for the worker in a situation where there are 83 persons who have worked for more than 10 years for URSUS Mechanical Works (ZM) and are included among those who do not have their own apartment?

These questions can be multiplied. Besides, almost every table in the survey poses additional questions. This happens, for example, in the case of children possibly being granted a place in preschools and day-care centers. There was a shortage of these places, up to 42.6 percent for children of preschool age and 26.8 percent for children up to 3-years-old.

The reading of survey results concerning the social-vocational situation of young workers at URSUS Mechanical Works (ZM) provides an excellent opportunity to see the rules and effects of staff personnel policy in factories. Those who are interested will find ample and perturbing material here. Just looking for an answer to what determines the work character shows that a number of "reflective" solutions at URSUS Mechanical Works (ZM) was found in this field. It turns out that up to 45.9 percent of those surveyed consider their own work as either completely or partially inadequate to their job qualifications. The percentage of those employed in accordance with their qualifications declines with an increase in education. In the case of persons with higher education only 32.3 percent of those surveyed claim to work in accordance with their qualifications; thus 88 percent of those surveyed have not completed their education, and among them, 63.1 percent do not see any need for further education. The case is similar with vocational improvement. According to the authors of the survey, there is a lot of evidence confirming improper management of human potential. It is consoling that, with training, the number of workers with jobs to fit their qualifications is growing. There is a chance then that, after many years of working, everyone will find his own place. It is worse if the young generation proves to be impatient and simply gives up working at URSUS.

Other disturbing occurrences are the rules for receiving a promotion. As a result of completing or increasing the qualifications, those who were promoted constituted only 27.2 percent of the total surveyed. In this situation one cannot wonder that, among the youth surveyed, such low educational motivation exists.

Analysis of the possibilities for promotion gives another unexpected finding. As the authors of the study emphasize, there are some paradoxes in this area. Namely, of up to 5.6 percent of those with work experience of more than 10 years no one was reclassified, while those with 3 to 5 years work experience were reclassified five to seven times.

In answer to these questions concerning the number of reclassifications, it turned out that 28.9 percent of all those surveyed have never received any reclassification and 40 percent received only one. It is hard to agree with such a personnel staffing policy.

"The Report" about youth at URSUS, of which many copies were made, has reached those whom it concerns as well as those on whom their fate depends. Was its content a surprise? Rather not. We knew all about it; a lot of data from the report reflects our daily problems and our own life. The report is, however, a sort of synthesis of our ills and, this is probably where its strength lies. The alarm has gone off.

9818

CSO: 2600/92

KALISZ PZPR FIRST SECRETARY JANICKI INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 26-28 Nov 82 p 3

[Interview with Jan Janicki, first secretary of PZPR Voivodship Committee in Kalisz and director of Railroad Repair Shops [ZNTK] in Ostrow Wielkopolski, by Marik Truszkowski]

[Text] [Question] Soon nine months will have passed since you began performing the functions of first secretary and also of director of the largest plant in the voivodship. Moreover, your party function is an honorary one. Indeed, this is unprecedented in our practice...

[Answer] Yes, I have been performing both functions side by the side, including the honorary one. This fact, however, is a result of a particular local agreement. Namely, my home organization is of the opinion that I should remain at the plant until the reform has been totally implemented.

[Question] How long can such a situation last, and what are, in your opinion, its positive and negative aspects?

[Answer] Well, this thing cannot last forever; but such a combination of functions, if we discount the resultant tremendous fatigue, has only positive aspects. It affords me a very close contact with the working class and with its largest concentration in our voivodship. People loudly express their views when it is necessary, and they often do not agree to something--hence, I later meet with less resistance when I have to make a decision. After all, these contacts are not just a result of my being the director of the plant; for example, I am returning to Ostrow immediately, and I will have interviews with 36 workers with regard to all kinds of applications: housing, living conditions, etc. And that is the best opportunity for me to familiarize myself with people's problems. People come to see me rather as a director than a [party] secretary, though the latter approach may be chosen by someone who feels closer "communicationwise." As a rule, these external problems are very difficult, while the internal ones are prosaic. Most frequently, it turns out that communication barriers are created by the persons themselves and not by mistakes of the administration, for example. Of course, there are also negative aspects of performing both functions simultaneously, including time aspects, because it is difficult to divide one's time equitably. Often it is done at the expense of family life, but, as a whole, it helps me.

[Question] Does this situation also permit to find or to work out the best method of action?

[Answer] Certainly. I want to say, though I have already spoken about it many times, that I am constantly searching for this method; but in this manner it is easier to find it. I have a genuine understanding of reactions of the working class. Incidentally--when I was appointed to the [plant] committee, they [the workers] began to test me; they asked me tricky questions at various meetings. On the basis of my knowledge [of the working class], I was able to answer questions without any embellishment, smoothness, rounding-off, or evasions. As a result, I got the impression that I had not only won them over to my political concept but I had also isolated a small group of people which specialized in personal intrigues. Maybe this sounds boastful, but I do not feel any apprehension.

[Question] But is such a model, let us call it the "Kalisz" one, acceptable and applicable elsewhere?

[Answer] What I will say perhaps will sound heretical. You cannot expect to have an identical situation in every voivodship. Where agglomeration and organization is powerful, and the information flow is considerable, the "Kalisz" model cannot function. But perhaps this is a solution, though not universally applicable. We would have to search for a way and a model that would prevent the separation of the first secretary from his milieu, his place of work, and the working class. The whole apparatus, and the ministerial secretaries, should function in accordance with already established principles. But it seems to me that this "steering" from above, which takes into consideration the feelings and interests of the working class, is extremely interesting.

[Question] I agree; but does not such a position produce a certain kind of distrust of one's own apparatus, even in the sense of information flow?

[Answer] No, it does not. However, let us tell ourselves frankly--whoever transmits information and prepares it must have time to gather it and to write it up. Such a person often makes editorial cuts, cosmetic ones, because he thinks that, for example, the boss may like this but not that, and that something else has to be particularly "rounded off." Frequently I receive information three days after something happened, and when my opinion about the matter is quite different from the one that somebody is attempting to impose on me. This results not from any bad intentions but from the fact that somebody transmitted the information to somebody through somebody else. A system of multilink information must, by its very nature, cause certain fragmentations which later distort the truth of the matter...

[Question] I do not think that this is due to any bad intentions, but I do think that often this is a result of routine, previous arrangements, and certain resistance to outsiders...



[Answer] I do not conceal the fact that when I was assuming this function under the martial law, repeated attempts were made to create an aversion to my candidacy. I do not hide the fact, either, that there were opinions that there might be other people capable of performing this function. Among other things, it was said, and I thought so at the beginning, that my first task would have to be to purge from the apparatus all those people who hindered the restoration of the party's credibility. After talking with almost one half of the personnel, I had to change my opinion. We have here comrades with excellent preparation, ideologically affective, and reliable. The only condition was that they first had to feel more secure. And today I know that the majority of this apparatus can be worked with.

Recently I talked with gmina secretaries in various regions. These people "opened up" and became very alert. I had the impression that they were greatly helped by their awareness of having the support of the first secretary for their positive actions, provided that they acted correctly. After all, I do not like diehards and opportunists, and I try to combat such attitudes.

[Question] It is not just the opposition that proclaims that these things are possible under conditions of martial law, the latter representing a kind of "protective umbrella" for the party.

[Answer] Under no circumstances. I know that such a view is lingering; but it is simply impossible to imagine with what severity we are combatting ideological and moral deviations, both in the party apparatus and in the administration. We vigorously intervene in structures of the state administration, which here and there infringes upon moral standards and supports bribery and bad management. It shuts itself in its own circle. This is a different problem, but I am gradually coping with it, until it is solved.

In plant organizations we did not make corrective changes in personnel; the people there were elected in a democratic way. But there were interventions, as for example, at the Machine Equipment Factory [FUM] in Ostrzeszow. A plain worker, but a tough fellow, was appointed the [plant] secretary there, and his performance has exceeded our expectations. There have been several changes in the posts of gmina secretaries, for as it has turned out, they were hitting the bottles and living a double life, one for their families' sake and another for the public's sake.

All the changes take place in the majestic atmosphere of party law. Only once did we resort to asking for a commissar's intervention, but we did it with the full approval of the executive board involved. We do not parade these changes, but, on the other hand, we take great pains not to abuse the martial law.

[Question] Does this also apply to a group of comrades, or former comrades, who were in some way implicated in the affairs of "prominent individuals?"

[Answer] Yes, it does. I cannot imagine it to be any different. In the Kalisz voivodship there have been situations which should not be dealt with under legal rubrics but under the rubrics of moral condemnation. After all, with regard to some comrades, from among the ten who have been indicted in the Kalisz voivodship, there was vicious propaganda, whose aim was to discredit the party in general. I have known personally for a long time one of the former secretaries, comrade K., a man who is--I would say--a laboratory-type communist. But attempts were made repeatedly to link him with the group of prominent individuals. Of course, those attempts were made in his absence. Different persons took different liberties. In January, still before my assuming the function [of the first secretary], we decided, at a meeting of the executive body of the Voivodship Committee [KW], that this problem had been resolved in the Kalisz voivodship.

There are cases of "greedy ones," pertaining to the facts of abusing one's [official] position--purchase coupons, building lots. In our place, these cases have already been reduced to proper relations: offense vs. punishment, and lack of guilt vs. acquittal.

The [first] secretary's office has established, for the administration, deadlines for settling the matters of payments for lots of the Shal river (in the vicinity of the Kalisz reservoir--author's note). In this area we are more aggressive than "Solidarity" was. We are of the opinion that whoever is guilty must be punished. In this area, there is complete harmony between the actions of the party, the governor, and the Voivodship Citizens' Committee [WKO].

[Question] Thus we have, on the one hand, an offensive of the party echelons, and, on the other hand, the demands--with regard to enterprises--of the martial law and of the economic reform being implemented. How does the "cadre" in industry feel about all this?

[Answer] When I was assuming my duties, I made it clear that the management of cadre in industry would not be evaluated according to fine-sounding declarations, guarantees of loyalty, and the number of meetings held. It would be evaluated, first, according to the growth rate of industrial production, calculated in real units and in comparable prices, which is most crucial, because I myself see how embarrassed and evasive the directors become when it is mentioned. Second, it [the management cadre] would be evaluated according to its reaction to the human and life problems of the work forces, and according to their attitudes toward the latter. Third, it would be evaluated according to its cooperation with the party organization. This cooperation does not mean that the secretary and the director should slap each other on the back but it means that they should form a front of social progress with regard to the work force. The work force must know and see that the party acts not only in the voivodship committee building but also in the enterprise itself.

We act on the assumption of the independence of the enterprises and directors--and we enforce this independence. This allows us not to be concerned day after day with our economy and its problems. Doubts are already being overcome; our management knows what the reform means. And even when this independence is not

enough for a director when he is faced with difficulties, he does not run to us, because he knows that we can test his familiarity with the law. Recently I had talks with some cadres--I had to turn down two candidates for directors, because they did not know the principles of the reform.

[Question] In this way, in this crucible of changes in the economy, quite a few people from the present management can crack up. Do you, in view of this, have a cadre reserve, and what is the anticipated percentage of young people in it?

[Answer] We do not have any definite cadre reserve in the state and economic administration. It being understood that we constantly work with someone, we are putting together lists of people. It can be said that we have a cadre policy. Nevertheless, our economic department has prepared--in cooperation with plant committees and youth organizations--a so-called group list of reserve cadre. This is simply a list of people "who are able to start" by reason of their attitude, energy, knowledge, and health condition. Besides, they do not know that they are on this list. We have already appointed a few persons from this group to positions in administration and industry. Young people? This is difficult to notice, despite the declarations of the Ninth Plenum of [PZPR] Central Committee about the creation of opportunities for young people. When we want to appoint a new, young person to a position, often the young people themselves object to his appointment. However, we are doing it slowly and patiently, because we do not want to make manipulation mistakes. Today it is difficult to get a candidate who has the requisite knowledge, experience, and health.

[Question] Much has been said recently about the restoration of the party's credibility. This is not an easy process; but how do you see your place in it?

[Answer] I will not give you a direct answer. Every Wednesday I receive people in our [plant] committee's office. My satisfaction is the greatest when a nonparty person comes to me, addresses me as "Mr. Secretary," and tells me about his problems and the bureaucratic delays in resolving them. There are cases in which I help, and I see to it that my help is effective. But there are also cases in which I say: "Please Sir, Madam--do not feel offended, but your claim stems from your own conviction that you, Sir, Madam, are right..." Because the intermediate claim instances sent the petitioner from one office to another--they even wanted to resolve the matter, but there was no formula for its resolution. And so an interesting thing occurs--the person thanks me that although his claim was denied I set him on the right path. It seems to me that the party's credibility is demonstrated, among other things, in a frank and cordial conversation, even with an adversary--so that on leaving he may be convinced that the party is humanitarian, that it wants to help and it does help. This mission involves some suffering, but we perform it day after day, convincing and helping people.

I admit that since 17 February of the current year I have received about 50 anonymous letters, but only one of them was political and ominous, pertaining to a 1 May parade under the protection of machine guns and tanks. Meanwhile

there was a manifestation, but not of the kind that the letter's author desired. All the other anonymous letters have denounced something or someone. I am not in the habit of throwing them into the wastebasket, all the more so that they often find confirmation after the facts contained in them have been "worked on."

[Question] Does this mean that things are already back to normal, and that the party feels so strong and secure that it goes to the people with its arguments and wins?

[Answer] I am not able to say this. In the party there is still a situation of trench warfare; there is no coming out to meet people face to face. The pressure of the milieu, of the opposition, and malcontents is strong, and anti-communism, waging war with all means at its disposal, influences people's feelings and tries to create an impression that the [present] situation is a temporary one. But it is good that party members do not yield to pressure and remain in their posts; and time will prove them right. Proof of this is, among other things, the fact that lately there has been no decrease in party membership. For the nine months of the current year, the number of party members [in the voivodship] has been 50,000, including 116 new members. Of the new members, the majority are workers.

Time has the most influence on the changes in the situation in our country, on the [economic] crisis, and on [people's] moods. Emotions calm down, and, from the perspective of time, people see and distinguish what is true and what is not. And I believe that all of our complex problems require, above all, time...

9577

CSO: 2600/107

RADOM PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Executive Board on Producer Cooperatives

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 3 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by (woj): "How the Producer Cooperatives are Conducting Their Operations. An Assessment of the Work of the Councilors--Party Members"]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting the members of the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee acquainted themselves with the economic situation in the Agricultural Producer Cooperatives (RSP). There are currently 33 such units in Radom. Almost 1,500 RSP members jointly cultivate 5,600 hectares. Unfortunately, this is poor land, most often Class V and Class IV, frequently not reclaimed and chopped up into over 2,000 pieces. It is these factors that make it difficult to obtain high yields. But it is more than just these factors. In some units the basic rules of economical management are not being observed and there is too little concern for social property. These cooperatives now, after economic reform goes into effect, will not be able to achieve good results. They must either declare bankruptcy or be dissolved. And this has already happened. One cooperative declared insolvency and was put into liquidation, and another was dissolved. Several other, the weakest, units may meet the same fate.

However, most of the joint farms have become stronger during the past year. Among them are the Nowe Miasto, Wola Worowska, Debnowola, Kosow, and Czarna cooperatives. Thanks to these cooperatives the socialized market this past year received considerable amounts of grain (3,731 tons), slaughter livestock (684 tons), wool (3.5 tons) and the cooperative plants processed 7,000 tons of fruits and vegetables.

But this year the farm animal stock in the cowbarns and pigpens has dropped and many stations are no longer being used. This is an unfavorable situation both for the cooperative as well as for the entire national economy. Hence the proposals of the executive board contained an assertion of the need to prepare a long-range plan to utilize the potential of every cooperative, based on specific natural and soil conditions. Such a program should be developed also because many of the cooperative in this farming change their production profile each year, and also frequently prefer activities that have little in common with the agricultural cooperative's statute. The executive board has recommended that producer cooperatives be organized only where conditions permit and only where the farmers own their own land. For only such members, experience has shown, will be concerned with proper utilization of the land, and will show adequate concern for high crop yields and productive animal husbandry.

The coop members participating in the deliberations demanded on their part that they be treated on a par with the other sectors, because at present they do not have all the rights which in return for commodities production are due private farmers.

Also at the meeting the Political and Organizational Section of the PZPR Voivodship Committee reported on the activities of the councilors, party members. The PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board passed the applicable motions on this.

#### Executive Board on Industry, Handicrafts

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 17 June 82 p 2

[Article by (woj): "Industry and Handicrafts for Agriculture. Who Should Get the Machines that Industry No Longer Needs"]

[Text] At the initiative of the Kielce-Radom AGROMA [Agricultural Equipment Business Enterprise] several exchanges were organized in Radom and Kielce for the production of unavailable spare parts and the simplest farm machines and equipment by Radom industry and handicrafts. There was considerable interest in such production, but only a few factories expressed a willingness to help concretely. The Connectors Factory in Radom-Potkanow undertook the production of molds and several work cooperatives and handicrafts institutions began to produce a couple of other elements. However, the supply of parts produced by these establishments does not cover the needs of agriculture. The tender by the Radom POM [State Agricultural Machines Stations] does not offset the market shortages, although almost all of these stations offer finished products, including cultivator harrows.

Why is this happening? That was the question discussed by the members of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Board in Radom at yesterday's [16 June 1982] meeting. There are many causes, the most acute being the lack of raw materials and other materials. Many craftsmen who undertake an obligation to assist agriculture restrict their production for this reason, and others give it up entirely. But there are also other causes of failure, including insufficient familiarity with the needs of agriculture and the production capabilities of factories, and lack of documentation. There is no uniform system for distributing machines withdrawn from industry. At present anyone can buy a milling machine or a lathe that is no longer needed in the General Walter's Metalworks, although preference should be given to the craftsmen that are undertaking production stipulated for agriculture. Distribution is faulty. Twine for binders, for example, is distributed by WZSR [Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives], but the twine for baling machines is distributed by AGROMA. We are told that there is even more of it than last year, but other reports come in from the local areas. And yet private shops are showing bags and hats from this particular raw material. Where there are market shortages, such waste cannot be tolerated.

These matters were extensively and critically discussed, but the Executive Board could not take suitable action because of the vagueness of the materials presented by the governor. Under these circumstances it was decided to return to this subject at a later time, with specific staff proposals.

Also at the meeting the Executive Board acquainted itself with the proposals for the personnel composition of the RADOM WEEKLY Programmatic Council.

## Plenum on Social-Political Stabilization

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 82 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Observance of the Law is a Condition of Social-Political Stabilization"]

[Text] A meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom was held yesterday [19 July 1982]. The subject of the meeting were the tasks of the voivodship party organization in strengthening the safety, public order and social discipline in the region. The following also were present: Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee; Michal Atlas, director of the Administrative Department of the Central Committee; and Franciszek Rusek, prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic.

The chairman of the deliberations, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee (KW) Bogdan Prus, in opening the meeting mentioned that the KW plenum is taking place two days after the adjournment of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum, whose decisions are tremendously important to all citizens, and particularly for the younger generation, and three days before the 22 July Holiday, which is a symbol of dialogue and better social order. Today, however, we must again defend that for which our predecessors fought--a people's, socialist Fatherland. That is precisely why we are undertaking the problems of safety, order and social discipline.

The executive board's report was presented by Jan Rybarczyk, KW secretary.

Twelve comrades took part in the discussion, and comrades M. Milewski and F. Rusek also made some comments.

--Radom and the voivodship have an important place on the country's political and economic map, said Franciszek Rusek, the prosecutor general. Today the Radom working class faces still one more great task: the defense of the political system's achievements against the enemies of our ideology. Every Pole must be conscious of the fact that in struggling against evil he can always count on the legal protection, assistance and support of the authorities. Also, society must be fully certain of everyone's inescapable responsibility for transgressions and violations of the law.

--The report and the discussion at today's plenum, said M. Milewski, show how much evil still exists, and we must eliminate it. The party is doing this. That is the purpose of the PZPR Central Committee resolutions, the draft declaration: "What We Are Fighting For, What We Are Aiming Towards".

It is not true that under our conditions we do not have to hurry to lift martial law. On the contrary. But a return to normalcy must take place under conditions of complete security of the interests of the socialist state and its citizens. The workers' self-governments and OKON [Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth] can hasten this process. I listened with pleasure on what is being done in the voivodship, and what has been achieved thanks to the initiative in Ilza, where today a hospital facility is being opened up.

Although stabilization is taking place in the country, the enemy has not disappeared. He is acting at the instructions of the diversionary centers. That is why so very

much depends on our attitudes, attitudes of the members and not only the members of the party. There are still a lot of people who are undecided, who are swayed by gossip and western propaganda. That is why in relation to them we must often be more frank, and help them. We must also act fairly. This pertains particularly to the courts. It is well that in passing sentences we are avoiding emotion.

It was recognized correctly at the plenum that even the best work of the party organization, the determined action of the police and legal organs cannot ensure law and order without the commitment of all of the citizenry. The organizations, ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia], ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and others, should give an example. Probably this is happening more and more often, since today Radom and the voivodship is being talked about differently, meaning better. And that is why all of those who contributed to the climate of social calm that was created here should be thanked.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the national holiday, on behalf of the party leadership I offer best wishes to the entire Radom organization, the PZPR members, and all the citizens.

The plenum passed a resolution whose implementation is to ensure improvement in social discipline in the region.

--Many facts prove, said B. Prus, KW first secretary, at the conclusion of the deliberations, that the actions taken by the party are being supported by increasingly larger circles of society. Safety and order cannot be just the object of concern of the Citizens' Militia, the prosecutor, and the courts. That is the reason for the main substance of the resolution which we must jointly implement. For maintaining calm thus far, for the atmosphere of productive work, for opposing those who disturb it, I thank you. We must especially emphasize the role of the people's Polish Army and OKON. On behalf of the KW executive board, on the occasion of the forthcoming national holiday, I give best wishes to the party members and also to all of the inhabitants of Radom.

The plenum adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

#### Concise Report on Plenum

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 82 p 3

[Text] In January of this year at the plenary meeting of the KW we assessed the current social-political and economic situation. We determined then that its complexity had a direct impact on the state of social discipline in 1981. Calm was continuously being disturbed by the attempts of the extremist elements of "Solidarity" to create a state of permanent tension. They attacked the party, the administrative authorities, the Citizens' Militia, the Security Service, the courts and the prosecutors. The members of the KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] and the former KSS KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] concentrated their activities on reaching and influencing the leadership elements of "Solidarity". The Interfactory Workers' Commission (MKR) "Ziemia Radomska", following the example of its headquarters, continued to lose its character as a trade union movement and became a political



movement engaged in actions and a campaign which threatened the leadership role of the PZPR, the political system and the alliances of the Polish People's Republic, and which inspired anti-Soviet attitudes in society. Attempts were made to mobilize the youth in the student community to engage in anti-socialist and anti-state activities.

The disturbance of social and economic balance was accompanied by a decline in the authority of the state administration organs and lower effectiveness of the workers. We saw an unprecedented increase in the number of offenses and crimes striking at the interests of the state and the citizenry.

The imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981 was the legal expression of the higher reason of state. During a 7-months' period its basic goals were achieved: the leadership structures of the opposition forces were paralyzed, the real danger of fratricidal confrontation and conflict was averted, and strikes and other destructive acts ruining the national economy were brought to a halt. The mass relaxation in the discipline of social work was brought under control.

Overall--safety, order and social discipline were definitely improved. But various threats continue to appear: using single and primitive posters, leaflets, graffiti and slogans, attempts have been made to provoke unrest; we have observed instances of official propaganda posters ripped off and destroyed; workers red flags have been destroyed; and attempts have been made to produce and distribute leaflets slandering the Military Council for National Salvation, the PZPR and the alliance with the USSR.

Some former members of "Solidarity" and other illegal organizations connected with the former leadership of MKR "Ziemia Radomska" tried to inspire protests and to distribute illegal publications. The police exposed two illegal groups at that time: one of ten persons and another of three, who were proven to be continuing the activities of the suspended "Solidarity". These cases were investigated by the Voivodship Court in Radom and the Warsaw Military District Court, Kielce Department.

We were dealing with attempts to incite unrest and inspire protest campaigns in workplaces, as evidenced by the bad situation existing for some time in the "Kozienice" electric power plant, and the protest 15-minute work stoppages by a small number of workers in several workplaces on 13 May 1982. We must emphasize, however, that hostile propaganda and inspiration do not have a very large impact on the attitude of the people in our voivodship. The mass participation of workforces, institutional employees, and youth in this year's observances of the 1 May Holiday, the calm and solemn observances organized in commemoration of 3 May and 9 May, is proof that the working people in Radom want calm and social and political stability. This was shown also by the calm observances of the anniversary of the 25 June 1976 events organized by the Local Committee for National Rebirth in Radom.

The fact that since February of this year crime has again begun to increase is highly disturbing. During 6 months of this year, 4,497 crimes were committed in the voivodship, i.e., 754 more than in the same period last year (3,743 crimes were recorded). There is a particular danger in Radom. Over 60 percent of all crimes in the voivodship were committed here. These are principally robberies, break-ins into public buildings, and burglaries and thefts involving private individuals.

The underlying causes of the criminal offenses are alcoholism, social parasitism, and demoralization among juveniles. Approximately 80 percent of all crimes are directly related to the consumption of alcohol.

The problem of drug-addiction is also disturbing. It appears particularly in Radom and Pionki. We have here the not-too-common but dangerous phenomenon of social maladjustment of children and youth. During 6 months this year, 614 criminal acts were committed by 309 juveniles. There were 284 detentions of juveniles in the Militia Juvenile Hall.

This situation demands more effective action on the part of all elements of the upbringing system: schools, youth organizations, social organizations, close cooperation between these elements and the police, court and prosecutors, and an increase in exertion of influence on the family.

One of the social problems which requires immediate solution is the large number of people of a productive age who are not taking jobs. By the end of May of this year, 4,797 such persons were registered, of whom 3,560 came voluntarily, while the others were compelled to appear. Of these, 493 continue to avoid steady employment. This is the more critical since the employment departments have a total of 2,242 job vacancies.

The situation regarding work discipline must be assessed as being critical. There are still cases of job-quitting, or job termination by the workplace for cause.

With the continuing shortages of producer goods on the market, the extent of the speculation is disturbing. During 6 months of this year, 295 preliminary proceedings were begun, 249 cases were referred to the misdemeanor councils, and 750 persons were fined. In addition to speculation, we see a whole series of various criminal acts which disorganize the domestic market. These are: refusal to sell and concealment of goods; removal of goods from warehouses and bypassing the retail shops; cheating the purchasers, particularly on quality and price; protective sales of goods; waste in food articles; sales of alcohol in restaurants in violation of regulations; and concealment of turnovers in the agency system of sales and production.

During the first six months of this year, during the course of inspections the goods which were the the object of speculation were valued at over 14 million zlotys, and the goods detected which had been concealed from purchasers were valued at over 3 million zlotys. In addition to this there is the corruption occurring in the state administration units, particularly in the sales of tractors and farm machinery, and in the distribution of construction, finishing and outfitting materials. The results of comprehensive inspections conducted in the Jastrzab and Szydlowiec gminas [rural parishes] confirm this.

The situation described regarding safety and order also appears in the PKP [Polish State Railroads]. In the first six months of this year, 46 criminal offenses were recorded here. Most of the break-ins and thefts are recorded in the PKP stations in Radom, Garbatka, Dobieszyn, Drzewica, and along the Radom-Skarzysko-Kamienna stretch of railroad. The number of railroad employees involved in crimes on the railroad is especially disturbing.

Losses attributed to criminal and management activities amounted to over 63 million zlotys in six months of 1982. However, the value of recovered property amounts to slightly over 7 million zlotys.

The question of fires must be treated separately. During six months of this year there were a total of 208 fires, resulting in losses estimated at close to 17 million zlotys.

Road safety, the condition of vehicles, and management in the transportation enterprises, continue to be doubtful.

As regards the culprits of the crimes and various types of law violations, all kinds of repressive and preventive measures are being applied. The Citizens' Militia and the Security Service regularly engage in various actions and prevention campaigns, disciplinary and educational, which are very important in improving the safety, public order and social discipline.

Detachments of the people's Polish Army, performing patrolling and inspection duty, fulfilled, and continue to fulfill, an important role. So, too, do the military local operations groups which work with the party echelons and the administration authorities, contribute greatly to improving order and public safety.

The prosecutorial organs during the period of 13 December last year until the end of June of this year conducted 164 speculation cases, in which 85 persons were charged. Seventy-two cases were tried summarily.

The courts in our voivodship during this period conducted 47 summary-court trials involving 83 persons charged, and 44 persons were sentenced. It must be said, however, that in the minds of the people, some of the sentences, especially in cases of speculation crimes and crimes of a political nature committed during martial law, are too mild.

The misdemeanor courts also applied the applicable punishment policy. During a six-months' period this year, 2,453 complaints were filed to punish those guilty of violating the rigors of martial law.

The activities of the institutions and social organizations working together to establish a social atmosphere and a sense of the necessity to observe the law by the citizens, play an important role here.

Certainly the members of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia work in a positive manner. We note, however, that the membership in this organization is declining.

The political-defense sections formed by the party and comprised of over 1,500 of the most active comrades, also play an important part.

We have a great deal of faith in the activity of the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth. This social movement, which assembles responsible people from different social circles who are respected in the community, can fulfill an essential role in shaping an atmosphere which is conducive to strengthening public order and social discipline.

The voivodship party echelon at the meetings of the KW executive board dealt systematically with the problems that complicate the normal work and life of the citizens, and which consequently have a negative effect on the quality and efficiency of production work. In the past six months of this year, the problems of law, social order and discipline, were the subject of deliberation by all local and plant party echelons. However, enforcement by the party organizations of active, effective work by the management administration as regards counteraction to relaxation of social and worker discipline, waste, uneconomical management and corruption in many workplaces, must be deemed to be inadequate.

There should be no case where a party organization or a party member takes a neutral position, does not take counteracting measures, when in his community, in his workplace or institution, violations of the principles of social co-existence or binding legal standards occur. We should create a favorable political climate in which the organs of law and justice can function, to work to restore and strengthen their ties with society, to strengthen public law and order.

The problem of strengthening order, public safety and social discipline should be more broadly considered by the mass media, and mainly by the regional press.

As a result of the deliberations of today's plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee we should work out the course of future actions aimed at a decided improvement in order and discipline, and thus the future stabilization of socioeconomic and political life in the voivodship and the country.

#### Plenum Discussions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 82 p 3

[Text] Mieczyslaw Sobkiewicz, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the plant committee in the "Gerlach" Tableware Combine in Drzewica:

A considerable portion of society associates the assurance of law and public order with the work of the police and prosecutorial apparatus. Yet assurance of safety and calm depends also on the correct behavior of children and youth in the family home and in the school, on the attitudes of the parents, teachers and educators, respect for authority, and continuous ties of the judiciary, prosecutorial organs, and militia with society. This is dependent also on good legislature and just court verdicts. Law, order and internal security can be ensured only when every citizen observes the law in effect.

Wojciech Rzeczkowski, chairman of the Social Commission for Public Law and Order, KW, PZPR:

The preconditions for the existing state of internal security are inherent not only in the specific sociopolitical circumstances in which we find ourselves but also in the correct functioning of the police force, the attitudes of its officials, and the protection of social and state property. All kinds of social commissions appointed for preventive-precautionary activities should play a very large part here. Unfortunately, the results of the work of these commissions are poor. And we must establish a broad front of cooperation, supporting the authorities in combating all kinds of crimes and corruption.

One of the most important matters is the improvement of the operational efficiency of the militia and internal control. In the name of the Commission, I propose that matters of law and order be examined in every party organization once each quarter.

Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, Radom governor:

The administration is fulfilling one of the vital functions in strengthening the principles of compliance with the law, in safeguarding law and order and public safety. It is no wonder that the main goal of the extremist groups for a period of almost two years was to weaken this as much as possible. The imposition of martial law put an end to this activity.

The new situation has become something of a competence test for the administration.

The collegial misdemeanor courts are an important weapon in the struggle for public order and calm. The repressive policy that they are applying is bringing definite results. It will be continued with specific attention to cases of drunkenness, a parasitic way of life, and demoralization of juveniles. We should also endeavor to strictly observe the principles which guarantee respect for property and thriftiness. This pertains especially to cooperative units, in which democracy and self-government cannot become a smokescreen for disorder and corruption. In these cases, after consultation with the WKO [Voivodship Organization Commission], the decisions will be unequivocal.

The speaker called attention to the urgency for establishing legal means to deal with the problem of social parasitism, i.e., the loafers.

Czeslaw Kropornicki, first secretary of the Primary Party Organization of the Voivodship Court in Radom:

After the Ninth PZPR Congress, the problem of compliance with the law in Poland gained high priority. In the past there were cases where court sentences were undermined, and this was frequently done by using extra-legal means. "Solidarity" was very good at this. We especially felt this in Radom. Fortunately, this period has passed. The imposition of martial law made the judicial groups work harder. This is due to the application of emergency procedures. We have heard the opinion today that court verdicts are sometimes too mild and do not have the desired effect on society. We also meet with totally different opinions. Therefore, I would like to remind you that the party and those who administer justice are not concerned with whether the verdicts are severe or mild. What is important above all is that the verdicts be just, pronounced in accordance with the wisdom and conscience of the judiciary, and that they comply with the principle of equality of all citizens under the law.

Col Stefan Ostapinski, deputy commander of the voivodship Citizens' Militia:

Radom was an important element in the plans leading to an overthrow of socialism in our country. The enemy did not accomplish his intent. After imposition of martial law, 113 people were interned. Similar decisions were made on 17 others later. In total, however, there are currently only 19 people now in isolation centers, but the enemies of the regime have not ceased their activities. Recently the actions of two groups printing and distributing leaflets were brought to a halt. Sporadically

materials of an instigatory nature still appear in the factories and on the streets. Other attempts are also being made to disturb order.

The militia, together with the prosecutor's office, is conducting prevention-type, informational work in many communities. It is important that the party organizations and the managements of the plants and institutions have a part in this. A collective front is also indispensable in the struggle with criminal, economic offenses. It is essential that there be proper supervision over state property, which too easily falls prey to robbers. The industrial security forces must perform their duties better.

In the prevention tasks, the protection of youth against the influence of the political enemy and the social outcasts must have first priority.

Wieslaw Owsinski, assistant voivodship prosecutor in Radom:

For a short time after 13 December of last year we recorded a drop in delinquencies. But since March of this year they are increasing in a disturbing way. During six months, the prosecution organs conducted over 4,612 cases. Mainly theft and burglaries in public buildings. Property valued at over six million zlotys was impounded to cover possible monetary penalties. At present, more often suspects are arrested.

The activation of control organs in factories is an important factor in the struggle with crime. That is why after the principles of economic reform are applied the prosecutor expects that public property will be better administered by the managements of production and service establishments. The prosecutor's controls on the observance of the law also play an important role here.

The order on construction sites, the application of local laws, was examined. Suggestions were submitted to the authorities having jurisdiction. There were no cases in which their justifiability was questioned. It is important now that these recommendations be fully implemented. The prosecution also appears in defense of persons who are wronged, i.e., in civil activities. It obtains social recognition for this.

Marian Kajtowski, voivodship commander of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia (ORMO):

The imposition of martial law gave the ORMO new tasks. It appeared essential to verify the ranks of the organization. The commitment of over 6,300 members of ORMO is shown by their active participation in the militia campaign code-named "Operation Calm". During this operation 282 criminals were arrested and 9 persons on the prosecutor's wanted lists.

One of ORMO's important tasks is the propagation of the principles of the observance of law and public order at the workplace and in the dwelling place.

The members of the volunteer reserve will, to a greater degree, involve themselves in actions aimed at safeguarding state property in the factories and enterprises. The participation of the ORMO members in the work of all organizations linked to the neighborhood and housing estates is indispensable.

Barbara Krzysztoforska, manager of the Regional Center for Party Work (ROPP) in Radom:

A lot of interesting material for analysis on the observance of regulations is contained in the complaints from citizens, usually made "all the way to the top", that in the basic units, the decisions being made, in the opinion of the petitioner, are unfair. If the principle were being properly implemented that: there is little, but we are dividing it fairly, there would be less trouble and ill will. We must determine why this happens, whether from lack of competence or the unwillingness to assume responsibility for decisions that are made. In this context, correct cadre policy is tremendously important.

Zygmunt Kosmala, WSzW [Provincial Military Staff Headquarters] chief in Radom:

Assurance of law and order is linked inseparably to the observance of public discipline. Yet inspections of military operational groups conducted in various factories show considerable defects in the functioning of economic and administrative units. Fire-prevention regulations are commonly not being observed, and the industrial fire department is doing a poor job.

Marian Wodnicki, first secretary of the City-Gmina Committee in Lipsk:

The considerable easing of martial law restrictions has caused crime to rise again, as well as alcoholism. The share of youth and juveniles in criminal activity is particularly disturbing. This can be attributed to the mental devastation of a large part of the young generation, which occurred before 13 December of last year. In this context, the position of some school directors who are concealing the manifestations of the reprehensible attitudes of part of the students, is surprising and disturbing.

Bogdan Jagiello, vice chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Voivodship Board:

Recognizing that the main cause of the negative phenomena among youth is the low level of political and legal knowledge, we are trying to reach all circles with this subject matter. We are counteracting the increase in crime among the juveniles and youth by working more closely with the courts, the militia and the schools. We have also set up a legal aid office at our board.

Andrzej Gostynski, first secretary of the City-Gmina Committee of the PZPR in Grojec:

Comprehensive inspections of cities, gminas, offices and plants are necessary, but let us not struggle against only the external effects of the negative phenomena. We know that vodka is primarily the cause of the increase in crime. Was not the decision to take alcohol sales out from under state control premature?

#### Executive Session on Scientific-Research Centers

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 29 Jul 82 p 2

[Text] Economic reform also requires the full commitment of scientific-research centers. There are six research-development centers in Radom, nine institutions,

the Teaching-Industrial Center for Operation of Vehicles and Machinery, and the Information Science Center at the Higher Engineering School. Most centers have relatively good technical facilities, and what is most important, competent cadre.

The Voivodship Committee Executive Board, in evaluating the participation of the Research and Development Centers (OBR) and the institutes in solving different problems and applying new technological solutions in the voivodship workplaces, acknowledged that the results of the actions taken thus far are not commensurate with either the needs or the capabilities. This pertains especially to the research and development centers which thus far in the newly existent situation have not created the proper conditions for closer cooperation between industry and scientific-research facilities.

Nevertheless specific steps are being taken. For example, the OBR of sanitary and heating installation products, where a method was developed for constructing boilers (e.g., steaming plants for agriculture), in which the poorer grades of coal and other fuels could be burned. There, also, research is being done on thermovision and acoustics (80 percent of which is for the region), and there, too, a model for air vents for housing construction was designed and built. There are concrete results from activities of the WSI (Higher Engineering School) institutes. The Department for Fuel-Raw Material Management has begun research on the optimal utilization of spent oils. Oils and lubricants are already being regenerated and the emulsion obtained in this way can be used as a cooling lubricant. Also a new technology for POLMETAL [Metal Products Factory] was developed in the WSI institutes. Instead of using brass burners for gas stoves, they are made of a special cast iron. It is estimated that brass savings yearly amount to 60 million zlotys.

But there are too few such examples. OBR and the institutes blame this on the various difficulties that arise, among other things, from the applications of the principles of the new reform. The ZREMB [Construction Mechanization Industry Association] found itself in a rather peculiar situation due to the decision to liquidate the Radom Combine and make the particular enterprises independent. It is not known who is to finance ZREMB. Similar and other problems occurred in the PREDOM-PREBOT Research and Development Center.

The Executive Board stated that the work of the research and development centers can only be judged on the basis of how the results of research are applied in industry. The Executive Board did not accept the material prepared on this subject by the PZPR Voivodship Committee economic commission team and decided to investigate this subject again in the fourth quarter of this year, taking into account all of the conditions which the scientific-research centers will be contending with as a result of reform and the social-political situation. Attention was also called to the fact that the research undertaken and the reports must be coordinated, and it was recommended that the Radom Chief Technical Organization take on this job.

Better use for joint purposes should also be made of existing equipment. The Voivodship Office and the WSI are being required to make appropriate use of the digital computer available at the Radom school.

In June of last year the Government Presidium passed a resolution on solving the main socioeconomic problems of the Radom voivodship during 1981-1983. The Executive



Board became acquainted with the information pertaining to its implementation. The decisions are being consistently put into effect and regularly supervised by government organs. The situation has improved, particularly in housing construction. The Executive Board admitted, however, that in certain fields, for example in the health service and education, execution of investment is proceeding unsatisfactorily, primarily due to lack of processing capacity. In connection with this, the Executive Board has required the Voivodship Committee Secretariat to hold a field-trip meeting during the last two weeks of August in order to familiarize itself in detail with the status of the work on the priority facility--the construction of a building for the Voivodship Group Hospital at Jozefow--and make the decisions necessary to accelerate the rate of the work.

#### Executive Board on Harvest Progress

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 5 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] The main subject of yesterday's [4 August 1982] field-trip meeting held in Zwolen by the PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) was an assessment of the progress of the harvesting campaign.

Aside from the materials submitted by the Voivodship Office in Radom, at the basis of the discussion were the results of a survey from six gminas in the Zwolen region. In Przylyk, Ciepielow, Kazanow, Tczow, Policzna and Zwolen, teams comprised of members of the KW Executive Board, the party, and representatives of interested institutions, visited farms, Agricultural Circles' Cooperative (SKR) stations, and village trade centers. Interest was concentrated on the progress of the harvesting, the condition of the harvesting equipment and the degree to which it was being used, the availability of spare parts and small farming equipment, and the availability of basic food articles and beverages. Visits in the gminas were also an occasion for direct conversations with the village inhabitants, an opportunity to hear their comments on the activities of units connected with agriculture.

Based on reports and direct observation, the PZPR KW Executive Board determined that according to the amount of grain harvested thus far, and 70 percent was mowed from a total acreage of 233,000 hectares, it can be expected that the harvests will be finished on schedule. In the final phase of the operation, however, it appears that it will be necessary to make greater use of the equipment of the agricultural circles. SKR should go to the aid of those who for various reasons are not able to cope with the harvests themselves. It is important that not a single kilogram of grain be wasted. The exceptionally low quality of the equipment that agriculture has been receiving recently is a serious obstacle in this regard. Out of six sheaf-binders furnished to the Provincial Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations (WZKiOR) not one, for technical reasons, could go out into the fields. They were returned to the producer.

The Executive Board stressed the importance of more efficient operation by the particular gmina services of the "Samopoc Chlopska" [Peasant Self-Help] cooperative. This pertains to the availability of food articles, beverages, the small equipment so indispensable to farms, but above all, to the procurement of grain. The voivodship plan envisages the accumulation of 73,500 tons of grain in the state warehouses, of which 65,250 tons should come from the private farmers. It will not be easy to

accomplish this task. Thus it is essential to stimulate all the gmina units to more activity and to talk directly with the producers in order to stress the importance of their civic duty to participate in the endeavor to guarantee the country's self-sufficiency in food.

No less important is the full implementation of the gmina cooperatives' commitments as regards the sales of fodder and coal for private farmers who are supplying crops for the state warehouses.

The Executive Board also heard the reports of the chiefs of the gminas visited as to the degree of readiness for the first phase of the post-harvest work. Where possible, the lime-plowing of the soil is already being done, but this is also being affected by weather conditions.

In the next item of the deliberations the PZPR KW Executive Board learned about the implementation of voivodship tasks relating to land reclamation. Attention was called to the need to create organization-executory conditions which would allow fulfillment of the preparatory plan to the maximum degree. This is due to the fact that in 1981 only 34.7 percent of reclamation needs were satisfied.

#### Executive Board on Economic Progress

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 18 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by (woj): "The First Six Months Were Fair--July Was Worse; Export Must be Stimulated"]

[Text] An assessment of the implementation of social-production tasks by Radom industry and the stimulation of export--those were the main subjects brought up at yesterday's [17 August 1982] meeting of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Radom.

Despite the not-too-good materials supply, by the end of the first six months a considerable economic revival was noted in many industrial plants, and production figures in some were even better than during the same period of the preceding year. Sales for a 7-months' period amounted to 61.2 billion zlotys, which was 99.4 percent of the amount for the same period of the previous year, and 59 percent of the plan approved for this year. Of the 17 basic branches of industry, 9 recorded better results than a year ago, and this includes the food and paper industries. The poorest results were achieved in the chemical and fodder industries. Out of a total number of 165 industrial units, 92 did not achieve the level of production of a year earlier. The largest decline occurred in the small plants and cooperatives, such as the RADOMET Metalworkers' Cooperative, the Regional Garden-Beekeeping Cooperative in Grojec, the District Dairy Cooperative in Wrzeszczow, the Automobile Upholstery Plant in Grojec, and also in the larger ones, such as the Radom Construction Ceramics Enterprise and the Radom Municipal Fruit and Vegetable Industry Association (MZPOW) Plant. The best results were achieved in the HORTEX Vegetable Preserves' Plants in Przysucha and Lipsko, the Brewery Plants in Warka, the meat plants in Radom, and the POLMETAL Metal Products Factory. The largest plants also exceeded the 7-months' plan: the General Walter's Metal Plant, the "telephones", and the RADOSKOR Leather Industry Plant. The workforce in this latter plant even decided to work on free Saturdays and thus increase market production by the end of the year by almost

250,000 pairs of footwear. These results were obtained with 5 percent lower employment, which means that labor productivity increased. Unfortunately, other economic ratios are not favorable. For example: Labor productivity rose a total of 4.6 percent, but the personnel wage fund increased 15.7 percent, and the average wage by 21.8 percent. Unworked time also increased 11.1 percent. The unfavorable phenomena mentioned above increased especially in July. This caused another decline in production. For many plants, this must be an alarming signal.

It was worse with export production. Aside from the Telephone Production Plant, which continues to achieve excellent results from export to the Soviet Union, in most plants attention is called to difficulties with production sales and international co-production. This is, in part, the fault of the exporting headquarters who are not doing their jobs well enough. The minimization of the export of fruit and vegetables is also incomprehensible, since, after all, Radom is the largest garden of Europe. Special measures must be taken in this matter. In any case, stimulation of export is an economic necessity. It is with satisfaction, therefore, that such plant initiatives should be noted as RADOSKOR, which undertook the production of several hundred thousand pairs of footwear for the Soviet Union from raw materials supplied by the purchaser, and "Gerlach" in Drzewica, which intends to fill large orders from the USSR and the GDR in the same way.

The Executive Board called attention to the dangerous practice of escalating prices without increasing production. Such cases are not common, but they do happen. Hence a suggestion to the banks that they strengthen financial control over the enterprises drawing credits.

Another item on the agenda was the acceptance of a program of activity for the voivodship and local party echelons ensuing from the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee Ninth Plenum and the Sejm speech by the first secretary of the Central Committee, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

#### Executive Board on Local Schooling

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 26 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] Yesterday [25 August 1982] a field trip meeting of the PZPR KW Executive Board took place, devoted to an assessment of preparations for the coming school year. An inspection was made of education-upbringing centers in the following gminas: Przysucha, Wieniawa, Borkowice, Drzewica, Gielniow, and Rusinow. The observations of these visits were also the basis of a broad discussion on the most vital problems of education in the entire Radom voivodship.

Repairs on the centers were, on the whole, completed on schedule, e.g., in the gminas in the region. In Przysucha only the smaller jobs remained to be completed, mainly the clean-up. What is disturbing, however, is the shortage of textbooks for certain classes and small supplies, especially for the preschool lessons. There are also problems with supplying the pupils with clothing, shoes, etc. Therefore, the school superintendent's office will not enforce certain requirements of the youth in this regard.

The elementary schools in the Radom voivodship will admit almost 3,700 more students in September than last year. Yet the facilities remain almost the same. Only an additional elementary school in Jedlinsk is being planned. There will be five new preschools and it is anticipated that another four will be completed in the next few months. During the current school year, 8,500 teachers will begin to work in the education-upbringing centers, including 400 who are unskilled.

The members of the Executive Board were interested not only in current educational matters but also in those of the future. Hence the presence at the meeting of representatives of enterprises implementing investments. It turns out that there is still a tremendous backlog in the construction of new facilities, particularly in Radom. Construction of schools at Zamlyn, Predocinek and Michalow has not been started. It was decided, therefore, that this problem should be given more time at a separate meeting with the participation of interested parties. At that time, too, the question of building dwellings for teachers should be investigated more thoroughly.

The qualifications of teachers, and their political and social attitudes, is a separate subject. The members of the Executive Board stated that the newly formed Teacher Improvement Branch and the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism (WUML) should be of the most assistance in preparing pedagogues. A great deal also depends on the activity of party organizations in education.

A program of observances of the 43rd anniversary of the outbreak of World War II was approved.

#### Executive Board on Party Situation

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by (woj): "Reform in the State Farms; The Situation in the Party"]

[Text] For a year already the state farms are conducting their operations in accordance with the requirements of economic reform, and for two months now they are being supervised directly by the governor. How did they use this period, and to what extent were the assumptions of reform realized in the Radom State Farms (PGR). The answer to this was sought during yesterday's [15 September 1982] meeting of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Radom.

In June of this year, seven farm enterprises conducted economic activity, including: State Truck Farms Combine in Stara Wies, the State Truck Farm in Ryczywol, and five PGR. In July, however, three new units were formed: PGR in Drwalewo, separated out the PGO [State Truck Farms] Combine, PGR in Gebarzow, from the agricultural plant of the Voivodship Center for Agricultural Advancement, and PGR in Sucha, organized on a farm cooperative base. In accordance with the wishes of the directors of the enterprises named, a voluntary PGR association in the voivodship was not formed, and some of its functions were taken over by the Department of Agriculture, Food Economy and Forestry of the Voivodship Office, which cooperates with the council of directors.

The Radom PGR, using 4,722 hectares, at the end of the marketing year produced 110.5 hogs and 76.9 cattle per every 100 hectares. This is less than previously, which was attributed to the need to base production on their own fodder. There are even open stations, both in the pigpens and in the cow sheds. The enterprises, according to the preliminary version of the accounting, achieved a profit amounting to over 80 million zlotys in the past marketing year. Three establishments, however, (Brzoza, Boguszwka and one plant of the PGO Combine) closed out their balance of expenditures and incomes with a loss amounting to 7.5 million zlotys. There were many reasons for this, including the large number of very small farms, the shortage of cadres and housing, investment indebtedness, and also poor work organization. Last year's time was used to put many things into order. Part of the PGR got rid of the more distant plots taken earlier from the State Land Fund, others stopped producing certain products in favor of other, more profitable, ones. These activities are in different stages of advancement in different enterprises and are being continued, which was approved by the members of the Executive Board. This does not indicate, however, that disorderliness, waste of fodder, and self-satisfaction with low productivity will be tolerated. And unfortunately, this is still occurring. The Executive Board also called attention to the need to begin a uniting process, to make maximum use of all investments, and to organize agricultural instruction in the enterprises to acquaint the workforces with the assumptions of reform. It is also requiring the gmina party committees in the area in which the state farms are located to make regular examinations of the situation in these state farms.

The members of the KW Executive Board heard reports on the situation in the party. They also learned of the preparations being made for the next PZPR KW plenum, which will be devoted to construction.

#### Pre-Plenum Consultation With Work Force

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by (anw)]

[Text] The next PZPR KW plenum in Radom will formulate tasks for the party organization in the development of housing and allied construction in the voivodship to 1990. The deliberations have been preceded by consultations regarding the main assumptions and methods of implementing the construction plans with the political-management aktiv of the work forces of the largest enterprises in the region. What are their opinions and comments?

--We took part in such an exchange of opinions in the "Kozienice" Power Station, where representatives of the PZPR KW in Radom, and the political and administrative authorities of the city and the Kozienice gmina were present. The basic reservation is that the construction development plans for the immediate future do not take into full account the needs of this large industrial center.

--The undeveloped land is what restricts us, those at the meeting said. Reconstruction of the center of the city would bring poor results, to say nothing about the technical difficulties of executing the work.

Results from the acceleration of housing construction will be slight if they are not preceded by a general solution to the problem of water and sewage treatment plants, the KM-G [City-Gmina Committee] party secretary in Kozienice, KW member Michal Wojasiewicz, emphasized several times. If the future inhabitants of the new community planned for construction at Warszawska Street are not to be faced with the necessity of installing tile stoves, construction of boiler plants must be begun no later than in 1983.

Jan Wrona, manager of the power plant, mentioned the reduced ability of the newly formed ENERGETYK Housing Cooperative to function under these circumstances. During the exchange of viewpoints, the idea of supplying the city with hot water directly from Swierze Gorne was brought up again. Matters relating to the inconsistent policy of implementing construction in past years, a policy in which the development of the city was not taken into account, were also mentioned.

What deserves particular attention? Those present called attention to the need for better management of the housing resources now available, with consideration to the social repercussions that all of the various mistakes in this area are producing.

The consultative meeting in the PRONIT Chemical Industry Plants in Pionki, attended by Danuta Grabowska, Radom PZPR KW secretary, and Henryk Szczepanski, manager of the Voivodship Administration Construction Department, proceeded similarly. The PRONIT workers demanded that the results of Pionki construction be increased to 200 dwellings annually (such are the needs of the city).

H. Szczepanski addressed himself to the problems of expansion of water intakes and sewage treatment plants, the construction of a tunnel to the new community, and construction of a hospital and a clinic. He promised that specific measures will be taken by 30 November of this year as regards the number of dwellings completed for occupancy. It was agreed that in view of the limited materials and performance capabilities, instead of building a new health service facility, the hospital now functioning will be expanded.

The subject of materials prepared for the plenum, concerning problems vital to the voivodship inhabitants, had already been discussed by the INWESTPROJEKT Main Cooperative Construction Center workers with the voivodship political and administrative authorities. Wlodzimierz Kocinski, KW secretary, met with the work force of the General Walter's Metal Plant and the RADOSKOR Leather Industry Plant. Vice governor Eugeniusz Jedrzejewski listened to the comments and observations of the Radom Telephone Production Plant aktiv.

It is good that development programs in the important fields of economy in the voivodship are being prepared in consultation with representatives of social groups. But it is too bad that in some discussions an important element was missing--the role of the party organizations in the development of construction, in increasing its production capabilities, and in improving the quality of the buildings constructed.

## Plenum on Social, Technical Reserves

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 82 pp 1, 2, 3

[Text] Yesterday [29 September 1982] a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee (KW) was held at which the tasks of the party organization in ensuring the development of housing and allied construction for 1983-1985 and up to 1990 were discussed.

The following attended the meeting: Stanislaw Gebala, director of the PZPR Central Committee Economics Department; Henryk Szponar, director of the Planning Commission's Regional Planning Group at the Council of Ministers; Wanda Kostiuk, deputy director of the Council of Ministers' Planning Commission's Territorial Policy Group; and Stanislaw Wozniak, vice president of the Central Union of Housing Construction Cooperatives.

The following also took part: the Radom governor, Col Alojzy Wojciechowski; the chairman of the Voivodship People's Council, Col Edward Jedruszewski; the chairman of the National Unity Front Voivodship Committee, Jan Trybulski; and the chairman of the Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth (OKON) Voivodship Coordination Council, Jerzy Piatek.

The first secretary of the KW, Bogdan Prus, who chaired the meeting, in his opening statement said, among other things: We are taking up a very weighty and extremely complex problem. However, we must consider and define forms of action so as to ensure, in the immediate future, the largest possible number of dwellings to those who are impatiently waiting for them. The social interest requires this of the party and its members. In submitting the proposals of the Executive Board, we will also expect specific postulates from the participants of the plenum.

The Executive Board's report was presented by the KW secretary, Wlodzimierz Kocinski.

During the discussion, 17 comrades expressed their opinions. Comrades Stanislaw Gebala and Wanda Kostiuk also took the floor.

The first secretary of the City Committee of the Party in Radom, Zbigniew Urbaniak, on behalf of the motions commission presented a draft of a resolution on the development of construction in Radom, including the various forms and ideas for accelerating the rate of obtaining new dwellings, and also for the proper protection of the already existing housing.

On matters of organization, at the motion of the KW Executive Board, Bogdan Misztal was, by open voting, unanimously appointed a member of the plenum and also the KW Executive Board, and the plenum also approved his candidacy to the position of PZPR KW secretary.

The plenum granted the request of Comrade Stanislaw Chojewski that he be relieved of his duties as a member of the KW Executive Board due to important job matters. Changes were also made in some KW commissions. The composition of a 23-member Commission on Matters Pertaining to Women was also approved. At the conclusion of the meeting, the KW first secretary, Bogdan Prus, took the floor.

He said: In the discussion the comrades have addressed themselves to the report of the Executive Board and submitted their observations and proposals. Many of the comments and proposals were reflected in the resolution. Detailed proposals were also submitted pertaining to enterprises, as well as others which must be taken care of in the work routine. No one has questioned the fact that by 1985 we will have to complete and release for occupancy 80,000 square meters of usable floor space, and in the following five-year plan, 1,200 thousand square meters. However, we must begin to prepare ourselves for this immediately.

For the party members, the next months will be a period of intensified activity. The reporting campaign is beginning. It should bring party unity and make it even more aggressive. At the conferences and meetings a detailed assessment should be made of the implementation of the Central Committee, Voivodship Committee, and local resolutions, particularly those that were passed at the previous campaign. We must also determine how the resolutions of the Ninth Congress have been implemented and whether the new party statute has been adhered to. During the present campaign, a new program for party activities must be developed, one applicable to the present situation.

Comrade Bogdan Misztal.

He was born 15 December 1941 in Radkowice near Checiny to a peasant-worker's family. He graduated from the Agricultural Technical School in Checiny and the Higher School of Social Sciences with a major in agricultural economy. He began his professional work in 1960 in the District Union of Agricultural Circles in Szydlowiec as an agronomist, and then as an instructor in agricultural training. In 1964 he entered the party apparatus. In 1971 he was the party secretary in Szydlowiec. In 1975 he began to work in the Voivodship Committee in Radom in the following successive positions: instructor, assistant department director and then director of the KW Political-Organizational Department.

He has been a member of the party since 1961. He was a delegate to the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. He has been decorated with the Cavalier Cross of the Order of the Rebirth of Poland and the Silver Cross of Merit.

In his new position he will attend to matters of the food economy and agriculture.

#### Plenum Report by KW Secretary

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 82 p 3

[Report delivered by Wlodzimierz Kocinski, KW Secretary]

[Text] The resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and also the Fourth Voivodship Party Conference, imposed on the echelons the duty to undertake and solve the problems of greatest importance to the working people, particularly that of housing construction. In the case of the Radom voivodship, this matter has special implications. The national density index per one room is 1.1--and in the region it is 1.29. The number of hospital beds for 10,000 inhabitants in the Radom voivodship is 32.7, while the national average is 56.4. There are 337 square meters of commercial-services space per 1,000 inhabitants in the country, and here, 261 square meters.



The Government Presidium's decision in June 1981 to allocate 10 billion zlotys for development of the technical and social infrastructure of the region to 1985 is an indication that the voivodship's needs are understood. An opportunity to make up the arrears has been created.

--It is estimated that there are already 40,000 people interested in obtaining apartments in multifamily construction in the Radom voivodship. The number of members and candidates registered in the Housing Cooperative (SM) grew from 24,035 in 1975 to 38,218 at the end of 1981.

The tasks for 1982 which ensue from the socioeconomic plan approved by the Voivodship People's Council (WRN) envisage that 118,700 square meters of usable floor area will be completed and released for occupancy. At the end of August, over 61,000 square meters had been completed. Despite the delays that are occurring, we estimate that the annual plan will be fully executed.

As regards allied construction this year, the following have been conveyed: pre-schools in Kozienice, Bialobrzegi and Pionki, a day nursery in Radom, a Gmina Group School with a preschool in Jedlinsk, a hospital annex (modernized) for 80 beds in Ilza, two homes for teachers in Stromiec, and 3,688 square meters of commercial-services floor space. By the end of the year, hospital annexes in Radom and Krychnowice, a hospital in Lipsk, health centers in Kazanow, Chlewiska, Policzna and Falceice, a day nursery in Kozienice, and teachers' homes in Mirow, Lipsk and Jedlinsk, will be conveyed.

Among the more important investments in the area of technical infrastructure, the following will be conveyed this year: a WR-25 boiler in the "Polnoc" boiler house, a thermal network for the Radom communities of Golebiow, Nad Potokiem, water intakes in Grojec and Bialobrzegi, a temporary water treatment station in Warka, a sewerage system with an intermediate pumping station in Kozienice, and a sewerage collector in Radom--in the Poludnie community.

A number of carried-over facilities are being implemented through the economic system, by the commitment of social initiatives and efforts. Local party organizations as well as administrative authorities must direct these activities so as to best achieve the desired results.

--The voivodship's program for 1983 provides that 3,110 dwellings will be built, including 2,090 for Radom. The following have been planned for 1981-1985 within the framework of social infrastructure: 9 schools, 26 preschools, 48,700 square meters of commercial-services space, 7 outpatient clinics, 13 day nurseries, a nurses' residence hall in Grojec, 2 hospital annexes in Radom, and a Public Assistance Home for Chronically Ill Children in Radom, hospital transportation unit bases in Kozienice and Radom, and--out of National Health Protection Fund (NFOZ) resources--8 health centers. Overall improvement in health care will take place only after a group of facilities in the new voivodship hospital in Radom, at Jozefow, are conveyed.

Implementation of the housing construction program as well as the infrastructure is dependent, however, on absolute execution of investment tasks in heating plant systems, water supply, and drainage and sewerage systems. Hence it is essential that

construction of heating plants "Polnoc" and "Poludnie" in Radom be completed, that regional heating plants in Pionki, Warka and Bialobrzegi be built, and that new water intakes and sewage treatment plants be constructed. The construction of a heat and power generating plant in Radom and an industrial network must also be decided immediately by the central authorities.

--These tasks require that the procedures for preparing investment processes must be changed. The practice of constructing buildings at the same time that the land is being developed must cease. The housing cooperatives must be made to understand that they are responsible for properly preparing and efficiently coordinating the implementation of investment. The design offices should apply themselves to the needs which arise from the urgency to accelerate housing and allied construction. The economic criteria should be given adequate consideration in drafting and preparing documentation. Assumptions concerning this should particularly apply to the year 1984, in which it is anticipated that 193,000 square meters of usable floor space will be obtained--an amount not previously achieved in the voivodship.

The work under consideration to 1990 must also take into account tasks in the area of gas-production, telecommunications, and electrical networks.

--One of the basic obstacles which limits progress in housing construction is the constantly growing shortage of developed lands. Despite measures to increase the performance potential, the formation of an independent Engineering Works Enterprise, the needs are much greater. It has become necessary to double the materials range of the work conducted by central-plan enterprises.

--The voivodship authorities, regardless of the absolute priority of new construction, are also faced with the problem of repairing and modernizing existing housing. Results achieved in previous years are highly inadequate. The execution of large-scale repairs during eight months in Radom, where the situation is regarded to be the worst, does not exceed 30 percent. There is a danger that the tasks assigned for the year will not be accomplished. Under these circumstances, it is urgently necessary to make some organizational changes and to take such courses of action as will bring about a fundamental improvement in the existing conditions.

--A large increase in single-family housing construction is envisaged in the programmatic assumptions for housing construction accepted in June of this year by the Council of Ministers. At the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed that this matter be considered particularly from the aspect of meeting the needs of the young people. The overall assistance should be based on ensuring them convenient credit conditions, the obtainment of building lots, documentation and supply of materials, and the organization of small cooperatives in the workplaces. We expect, therefore, that the cooperative boards and councils, the enterprises, and especially the youth organizations, will take the necessary measures to prepare the least-expensive design solutions, using local materials and the best organizational forms of single-family construction.

In the next 5-year plan, results amounting to 1,200 thousand square meters of usable floor area will constitute a 50 percent increase in relation to the current 5-year plan. At the same time, an equivalent increase in the number of rooms in Radom and

other places in the voivodship is envisaged. In order to achieve this, measures aimed at optimizing construction technology should be continued. Despite the quite universal criticism of the large-slab system which we are using today, there is, nevertheless, no other reasonable alternative.

--The determining factor in the implementation of housing construction continues to be people. Almost all enterprises are coping with shortages of skilled cadres, a shortage estimated to be approximately 800 people. The education authorities must consider redesignating certain schools from the standpoint of providing people for work on construction.

--The social importance of tasks implemented through construction also sets specific tasks for party echelons and organizations. It is difficult to acknowledge that the current level of their activities is adequate. The degree of party membership in enterprises connected with investment processes amounts to 14 percent and is not commensurate with the requirements that construction is facing. The coordinating role of the PZPR Community Commission has also become weaker. Yet it is the party organizations and echelons who must play an important role in the practical implementation of the economic reform assumptions. More economical management, a search for new technical solutions, and finally, problems of economics, are, in the investment process, individual and truly random endeavors. This reflects on the total account balance, the social costs of construction.

Nor can violations of work discipline, the camouflaged absences, and the declines in labor productivity be tolerated any longer. Hence the need to evaluate the cadre on the basis of work results and the level of responsibility for the existing state. On the other hand, educational work both among the workers and the managements of the enterprises should be developed.

The work of the primary party organizations in the executing enterprises, the design offices and the investment institutions must bring about a concentration of all activities on full execution of plant anti-crisis programs, on creating a social atmosphere condemning waste and poor work quality. We also see the need to conduct an entire group of measures aimed at increasing party membership among construction work forces.

Those then, as well as many other matters in the work of construction party organizations must be thoroughly investigated during the forthcoming reporting campaign in the PZPE.

--The plenum on the subject of construction coincides with the present consultation of the variant assumptions of the socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985, and the long-range plan, to 1990. The basic question which we should answer today is: what can we do and should we do as a party so as to take maximum advantage of the opportunities, so as to define PZPR member obligations to more effectively solve this most important--aside from feeding the nation--social problem.

## Plenum Discussions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] Mieczyslaw Wilczynski, first secretary of the PZPR City and Gmina Committee in Pionki

One of the most serious problems which construction in Pionki must contend with is expropriation. The degree of difficulty is best shown by the fact that the inability to expropriate just one family makes it impossible to begin construction of a health clinic or housing buildings. This problem must be solved as quickly as possible. It cannot be that after a construction plan is approved and the costs of developing the land have been borne, difficulties in beginning the implementation of investment occur.

Just as important as new dwellings are the repairs on old buildings. Yet the situation in this field is so bad that in a few years it may be necessary to meet on a forum just like today's in order to consider the matter of repairs. We cannot allow this to happen. We must immediately consider how a minimum amount of materials indispensable, for example, for repairing roofs can be provided.

Zdzislaw Wilk, director of the Construction Combine in Radom

Full implementation of planned tasks in construction requires that preparatory work must be conducted with enough lead time. Before construction is begun, there must be complete documentation and the land must be developed. Progress in construction will depend also on modernization and full utilization of the prefabricated products factories.

The Voivodship Office Education Department must immediately prepare the principles for selecting and training the young people who in the future can take jobs in the construction enterprises. The interest of the main investors in construction must also be greater than heretofore.

Janusz Zietek, chairman of the Voivodship Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP)

Despite government decisions and priorities, housing construction still has not been able to move from dead center. Execution of a plan in 8 months does not inspire optimism. Among the almost 40,000 people waiting for housing, 60 percent are young people. To solve this problem, other solutions must be sought and new initiatives must be undertaken. The development of sponsored construction, implemented through a contract-management system, should bring good results.

Aside from the construction of new apartment blocks, the possibility of adapting attics, adding on units, etc., should be investigated.

Jan Darmas, director of the Radom Building Enterprise

It is good that as of 1 December of this year the governor became the founding organ of the building enterprises. It is good because we obtained an ally, who

helps in solving problems and neutralizes the activities of various "perfectionists" who often place the construction plants in a position of bankruptcy.

We must continue to reduce the number of middle-men in the construction process and bring about a situation where the investor is the housing cooperatives. INWESTO-PROJEKT Main Cooperative Construction Center is not fulfilling its role.

Better judgment and accuracy is needed in issuing legal regulations controlling the activity of construction enterprises. It appears essential that the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials provide materials for the fourth quarter to the enterprises, which would guarantee that the tasks are completed.

Andrzej Niebrzydowski, first secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Siemno

The question arises--why does such an important social issue as housing construction apply mainly to Radom and the larger centers in the voivodship? What about the gminas? The reports campaign in the party is drawing near, and matters of construction will again be covered. We cannot ignore them, since we have a program for strengthening the gminas, since we want specialists to come there more often. Who will take a job here when we cannot guarantee a place to live? In Siemno we decided to build four apartment blocks. We found a contractor and materials, and one building was built. The Lipsk Housing Cooperative showed an interest only when it came time to assign the apartments. The role of the cooperatives should be entirely different. Will the next homes be built? Responsible representatives of the voivodship administration do not see any prospects for this, because we do not have a water-supply service, a sewage treatment plant, etc. In the field of construction, the gminas cannot remain alone.

Andrzej Zielinski, member of the Voivodship Committee executive board, worker in the Power Industry Construction-Assembly Plants

The materials presented at the plenum were submitted for broad public consultation. During meetings, representatives of the construction work forces, the largest industrial plants, from Radom, Pionki and Kozienice, discussed them. The justifiability of bringing up the subject by the voivodship party echelon was affirmed and the work forces became acquainted with the situation in construction and the plans for its development. However, a number of issues were pointed out which must be settled. Such important obstacles as an inadequately developed municipal infrastructure and a shortage of land are at issue. They are not being prepared before the buildings are being erected, and we know what that means. A halt should also be called to all cases of waste in construction. That is the first step in improving the quality of the housing being released for occupancy.

The consultations also confirmed the need to examine the feasibility of building such public utility facilities as railroad stations, a hotel in Radom, a hospital in Pionki, or regulating water-sewage disposal in Kozienice.

Eugeniusz Czarkowski, member of the Voivodship Committee, worker in AGROMET Agricultural Machinery Factory in Rzeszow.

The thought occurs that in view of the crisis that construction is going through whether or not we should take advantage of the experience of people who have worked

in this field for many years. Without mechanization, the results obtained then were not at all bad. That was doubtless due to good work organization at that time. Today, for example, in Przysucha the establishment of a community Poludnie is being proposed on land which is still undeveloped. When the work will be finished, no one knows. In a situation where since 1979 Przysucha has not obtained even one block, should not construction be begun on prepared sites in the center of the town? Approximately 1,000 members of the local Housing Cooperative (SM) are waiting for this dilemma to be solved.

Wojciech Slomka, chairman of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) Factory Board in the General Walter's Metal Plant

No one needs to be convinced about the importance of one's own dwelling for a young family. It is not surprising, therefore, that ZSMP attaches so much importance to the so-called "sponsored" construction. This does not guarantee that the problem will be solved entirely, but it brings many much closer to independent housing. Other similar initiatives are also indispensable. Recently the idea arose for a youth cooperative for the production of building materials. In view of the voivodship's materials availability, this cooperative could produce hollow bricks. There is also a chance that old brick factories can be put back into operation. But this initiative must have support. Is it not possible, for example, to assign outlays from the Vocational Activization Fund (FAZ) for transportation, cement, or slag for the youth cooperative? Administrative measures for expanding single-family construction are also indispensable. So-called cheap construction. The ZSMP members can prepare the design plans themselves; just don't interfere.

Waldemar Kalbarczyk, first secretary of the PZPR City and Gmina Committee in Bialobrzegi

Despite the shortage, the problem of quality of the dwellings being released for occupancy should not be regarded with indifference. In the Reymont II community in Bialobrzegi seven apartment blocks were released for occupancy up to 1976. Because of defects and unfinished work, people to this very day are pleading and seeking help. It is sufficient to say that the walls are freezing through, that the rooms are cold. In view of the announced rate of work, it will be necessary to wait 7 years for an elevator. Talks with the building contractors bring no results. The names of the firms keep changing, and no one takes the blame.

Another problem: Bialobrzegi does not have a boiler plant and a sewage-treatment plant. Without this, there can be no thought about development of housing construction.

Bogdan Barszczynski, director of the Municipal Construction Combine

Our enterprise conducts major repairs on dwellings. Despite the fact that the needs are increasingly greater, the executing capacity has dropped greatly recently. We do not have enough bricklayers or plasterers, and there is also a shortage of technical facilities. We are forced to repair dwelling in which people are living. I propose that insofar as possible, other enterprises should also do repairs. Let us also verify the training profile of cadres, so as to favor construction. Let us eliminate the documentation delays. We are receiving some of the documentation after repairs have already begun. Let us return, finally, to forming our own telecommunication and power enterprises.

Andrzej Gostynski, first secretary of the PZPR City and Gmina Committee in Grojec

We should assume full responsibility for implementing social needs. People should not be allowed to go out of the party committee empty-handed. It will be hard, but we should try. Municipal construction, for example, should be enlarged even at the expense of cooperative construction, and full use should be made of the plant fund so that the manager in some enterprises is not an annoying petitioner.

A number of persons responsible for taking care of construction formalities exhibit a lack of competence. We will put an end to this. Must we always look for contractors in the state construction enterprises? The specialized cooperatives should give priority to the municipal constructions, and not the private ones, as heretofore. And a final comment: I do not see in the housing cooperatives any clear concept for executing the government program. And it is high time for this.

Andrzej Pracki, president of the Voivodship Housing Cooperative Union (WZSM) in Radom

The critical evaluation of the activities of the housing cooperatives is not without basis. We are simply paying for the reorganization of 7 years ago, which caused a decline in the interest of the cooperatives in the implementation of investment, and a decline in the influence of self-government. We are now returning to the old, proven methods of work. The individual units are independent. And this fact will surely bring quantitative results, and will ensure fair distribution. We have accepted the following rule for allocating dwellings: 80 percent for those waiting their turn, and 20 percent for the "accelerated" cases. In this context, the problem continues to be current--what should the ZSMP's sponsorship be if its results are to be actually observable in the form of new, additional apartment blocks.

Michal Wojasiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR City and Gmina Committee in Kozienice

Four thousand families registered in the Kozienice cooperatives are waiting for apartments. At the present rate of construction, they will wait another... 37 years. But even if we were able to build, after 1985 there will be no developed land here. The problem of lack of water, the construction of a water-treatment plant, and a sewage-treatment plant, continue to be obstacles. Those facilities which are now operating are overloaded beyond measure. Nor does the dust from the electrical power plant ensure reasonable living conditions. The 200-hectare storage yard grows by two million tons of dust annually. The local prefabricated products factory processes only 150,000 tons annually. What about the rest? We must at last make a decision--a polluted environment is already a fact.

Tadeusz Karwicki, director of the PUDCHEM Construction Combine (KB)

My firm can build for sales. It is expensive, but there are those who will buy these dwellings (40-50 annually). Others also are able to do so, and every means of getting out of the "housing depression" is a good one. Do they have to be fully equipped? Let us give them just a room and a kitchen range, and the rest the people will arrange themselves. That is what they do, for example, in the FRG. And one more matter--infrastructure. We complain about the condition of the markets and the parking lots. What stands in the way of turning them over to agents?



Tadeusz Chochowski, Radom vice governor

Works involving the preparation of land for housing construction pertain to the entire Radom voivodship. In every case of investment we are dealing with private land. Frequently we must conduct arduous formal legal proceedings. The difficult expropriation situation in Pionki, reported during the discussion, pertains not just to that town. It is the same in Radom, where several owners of sites are torpedoing the site-selection, and as a result, the construction of a nurses' dormitory. In every case where land is being taken over, the principle of the most efficient utilization must prevail. A number of conflicts arise due to the application of different prices. Absurdities are encountered in practice which should never take place: the same lot is priced differently in the town than in the village. Implementation, and also expropriation of facilities on the town-village boundary, brings confusion.

The lands taken over unfortunately require difficult technical-development work. The design offices receive orders for specific tasks. Enough lead time must be allowed so that the building work later will proceed calmly. The work schedules must take into account the needs of the potential inhabitants of the community, i.e., the basic services. The design offices' capabilities make it possible to perform the assumed work on schedule.

It is becoming urgently necessary to reactivate the production of prefabricated large-unit elements of the Kielce-Szczecin technology, and the housing cooperatives should take the necessary steps to start up their own production based on the facilities in Rajec. We do not know how many and what kind of finishing materials we will receive. We must therefore decide to direct the scarce materials to those places where there is reason to believe that the buildings will be finished this year or the next. An early decision on organizing a Voivodship Construction Materials' Center is also essential.

The program which we approve today is difficult and complicated, but it can be accomplished.

Wanda Kostiuk, vice director of the Council of Ministers' Planning Commission Team

It is understandable that society concentrates its attention on housing policy. The endeavor to give every family its own dwelling became the reason for the housing construction program. Despite a great deal of effort, in this difficult situation for Polish families the anticipated changes did not occur. The failure to complete actual tasks by the construction ministry extended the waiting time for allocation of housing. In the variant concepts of the National Socioeconomic Plan, 30 percent of the investment outlays were designated for housing construction. This cannot be increased. It has become necessary, therefore, to apply savings technologies, to use universal, inexpensive construction. In 8 months of this year the results obtained in construction in the Radom voivodship are higher than the national average and are 50.8 percent completed. The struggle with the waste that is going on, especially since there is a shortage of many finishing materials, is important. There must be an improvement in the quality of the buildings that are constructed.



Stanislaw Gebala, director of the PZPR Central Committee Economics Department

Housing construction and community infrastructure should be examined in terms of investment policy. We have entered into a state of high investment commitment at a time when assets are very largely frozen. And therefore as much is being built as the national economy permits. For 3 years now we have had a decline in national income while collective consumption has increased greatly. This must, of course, diminish the state's investment capacity. We are applying economic reform in construction. Formerly, everything was decided centrally. Today the roles are divided among the central headquarters, the enterprises, and the local authorities. We should adapt ourselves quickly to the new quality of work.

In addition to the housing cooperatives, investments in the construction of housing should be made in the next few years by the workplaces for their own workers. Construction by a management system makes it possible to meet the needs more rapidly.

After the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress, the government issued standards favoring better organization of housing construction. State construction is now returning. In the Sejm a revision has been submitted to the housing law, and a system of financial assistance for young people is being expanded. However, assurance of building lots for the populace is becoming a serious problem. Local data are being verified and the decision of the governor will be final.

Unfortunately, there have been and still are obstacles standing in the way of the development of housing construction. All of the failures are, as a rule, heaped on this ministry and after all, the building contractors are not always to blame for the delays that occur. Synchronization of construction work with other ministries is a matter of very major importance today.

We have a duty to create a climate for the development of housing construction. We must seek the reserves to build more, but also at lower cost than heretofore.

#### Plenum Resolution on Housing Construction

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 5 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] The PZPR Voivodship Committee, implementing the resolution of the Fourth Statutory Party Conference and aware of the social expectations, undertakes the problems relating to housing and allied construction as one of the most important activities of the party organizations and echelons. Based on the proposals presented in the executive board report, the results of the consultation that has been conducted, and the discussion at the plenary meeting, the Voivodship Committee resolves:

I. To obligate the Radom governor to prepare, in accordance with the guidelines of the Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, a voivodship program of housing and allied construction, development of land in municipal infrastructure, and proper maintenance of housing resources during the years 1983-1985 and 1986-1990, with such lead time as to submit the draft program to broad social consultation. As a minimum, it should be assumed that 800,000 square meters of usable floor space by the end of 1985 and 1,200 thousand square meters during 1986-1990 in multifamily housing construction will be completed. In the program, housing should primarily be assured for newly obtained employees in the health service, education, and other specialists.

II. To obligate the PZPR KW executive board to evaluate the draft program by 20 November 1982 and periodically, no less than once a year, evaluate the progress of its implementation.

III. To obligate the party organizations and echelons of the units participating in the investment processes to prepare their own programs of activity, ensuring full execution of the accepted tasks in housing and allied construction. The programs should include:

--the assurance of a distinct improvement in the living and working conditions of work forces, the shaping of correct attitudes among all executors of investment tasks in housing construction, the creation of a climate conducive to effective work, the obtainment of work forces for full implementation of tasks in the area of construction designated by the voivodship party echelon, the inspiration of political-organizing activities ensuring an increase in productivity and discipline, an improvement in work organization, and an evaluation of management cadre.

--the inspiration of activities aimed at the development of construction materials production, especially from materials derived locally, the initiation of the development of employee efficiency and inventiveness, the conduct of an examination of one's own unit in order to precisely define the role of the participants of the investment processes in the current organizational and structural system.

These problems should be the subject of discussion at the forthcoming conferences and reports meetings.

IV. Single-family construction should be the means for bringing an earlier solution to housing problems. Success here will be predicated on adapting design plans and execution to the financial abilities of young families, based on an improved credit system. To ensure implementation of this task, it will be necessary to:

--assign the indispensable number of building lots, with assurance that the basic elements of technical infrastructure will be present; through the housing cooperatives start up production of certain basic elements for this construction and lease the necessary equipment; prepare a catalog of typical plans which make use of local materials and which are adapted to the means of average-income families; give assistance in the area of materials and equipment through the workplaces.

--define the organizational framework of the servicing by the local administration organs and housing cooperatives interested in this kind of construction.

Party and youth organizations in workplaces should inspire and create a climate conducive to the formation of small housing cooperatives.

V. To acknowledge the application of economic reform in units participating in the implementation of the investment process as being one of the main conditions for the development of housing and allied construction in the voivodship. To this end, the party organization will direct its activity at:

--disseminating the principles of reform on the job, reducing manufacturing costs by combating waste, poor work quality and improper utilization of machinery and equipment, and creating incentive systems guaranteeing a connection between amount of emoluments and work results.

VI. Direct the activities of the party organizations and echelons at ensuring an inflow of the indispensable cadre of skilled workers for construction. To this end, an occupational training profile should be adapted in the voivodship to current requirements, the Vocational Activization Fund (FAZ) should be used to prepare persons who are unable to find employment for work in construction, and a climate should be created which would encourage people to take work in the construction professions.

VII. The PZPR KW plenum moves that:

--the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry accelerate a decision on forming an autonomous headquarters for construction materials for the needs of the Radom voivodship;

--the Ministry of Mining and Energy take a final position on the date that construction of a heat and power generating plant in Radom will begin;

--the Voivodship Deputies' Group accelerate the legislative work on the new housing law.

VIII. To take action aimed to giving comprehensive assistance to Plant Committees (KZ) and party organizations in construction, at increasing their political aggressiveness and influence on the employee groups. The function of the Community Construction Committee as the coordinator of political work should be reactivated.

Local echelons should make periodic evaluations of the degree of implementation of the foregoing resolution in the units participating in the investment process and take the necessary steps to improve the efficiency of the party work.

#### Executive Board on Resolutions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 7 Oct 82 p 2

[Text] In August of this year the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom defined for the party organizations and echelons, the Radom governor, the educational-upbringing institutions, and the youth organizations--Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), Rural Youth Union (ZMW), Polish Scout Union (ZHP), Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP)--the main tasks ensuing from the resolutions of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum. Open party meetings and meetings of teachers' councils took place in all educational-upbringing centers in September, at which the Ninth Plenum decisions were discussed. Similar meetings were conducted by the Primary Party Organizations (POP) at the Voivodship Administration ZSMP and the Council Command (KCh) ZHP. Schedules for performance of tasks were also approved. One of the main assumptions was also the preparation and application of ideological-upbringing work programs, covering the work of the party, ZSMP, social and scientific-technical organizations, self-governments, and administration. As a result of these programs, the participation of youth in the Patriotic Movement for National Birth is increasingly greater. In the Przytyk gmina, for example, four Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth (OKON) initiative groups sprang up from among the youth aktiv. At the initiative of party echelons in some gminas--Wieniawa, Wierzbica, Oronska, Borkowice--joint commissions on youth affairs were formed.

In October the executive boards of the party echelons evaluate the degree of familiarity with and implementation of the Ninth Plenum resolutions by the local elements of the state administration in the light of the government document, "A Program for Improvement in the Conditions Under Which the Young People Will Enter into their Vocational and Personal Adulthood". Some problems pertaining to housing construction were recently the subject of plenary deliberations in the party KW.

The PZPR KW executive board in Radom, in making its evaluation of the implementation of the resolutions of the party's Central Committee Ninth Plenum at yesterday's [6 October 1982] meeting, stated that not all party organizations prepared concrete schedules listing tasks. Nor were these resolutions appropriately disseminated everywhere. This refers also to the particular ZSMP elements and other youth organizations. The participation and commitment of the young in applying economic reforms continues to be too low.

It was reminded that the Ninth Plenum outlined only the framework for a comprehensive solution to the matters of the young generation, and the practical implementation of the specific determinations is the duty of all those who are directly involved in this extremely important problem. The young people must investigate their rights more decisively and settle their matters through honest work and commitment in self-governments, social commissions, and OKON. The youth still too frequently are taking a position of neutrality. Their participation in the work of the people's councils is minimal and they do not participate, for example, in the meetings which are now taking place throughout the countryside, at which the populace is electing its representatives to the citizens' councils on minor offenses and candidates for court councilors. The youth are still too consumer-oriented. It is high time that such attitudes be changed and that action replace talk.

The executive board has obligated all local echelons and party organizations to once more examine the substance of the Ninth Plenum resolutions and the tasks that ensue from them, and develop programs of activity. The party must also help in forming youth organizations where there are none. The basic task for each young party member is full commitment in a youth organization. The executive board also called attention to the need for ideological training of the youth aktiv, and instructed that the work of the ZSMP, ZMW, ZHP, SZSP Cooperation Commission be revived, encouraging the youth to further mass participation in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

The Radom voivodship governor was obligated to explain and conclusively settle some of the issues in dispute connected with the implementation of the so-called "sponsored" construction.

This month the matters concerning the young, arising from the Ninth Plenum resolutions, will be the concern of the KW secretariat, whereas in December of this year, they will be the concern of the KW executive board.

## Radom PZPR Ideological Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by (BEM)]

[Text] On Saturday [9 October 1982] an ideological conference of the Radom voivodship party organization took place in Radom, at which the basic theme was, "Selected Problems of Theory and Practice of the PZPR's Ideological-Propaganda Activities". The conference was attended by the ideological aktiv of the Radom voivodship, delegates to the Ninth Congress, party organization secretaries, teachers and scientific workers, party training lecturers, and journalists. The guests at the conference were: Zofia Grzyb, member of the Central Committee Politburo, Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee, Henryk Maciag, head of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) Voivodship Commission (WK), and Stanislaw Kieman, chairman of the Democratic Party (SD) Voivodship Commission. The deliberations were conducted by Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee (KW). The vice governor of Radom, Eugeniusz Jedrzejewski, bestowed the "Radom Voivodship Merit Badge" on party lecturers Col Czeslaw Gmyrek and docent Wieslaw Kudla; 15 lecturers were awarded PZPR Central Committee medals "For Disseminating Marxism-Leninism".

The conference began with a lecture by the secretary of the Central Committee, Marian Orzechowski, entitled "Theoretical and Practical Problems in PZPR Ideological Activities". The speaker indicated that the principal mistake in ideological activity in the past was the reduction of Marxism to several broad rules and generalizations. Ideological activity is comprised of both a development of knowledge about society and its needs and preparation of a base for practice, as well as the combating of dangerous and inimical political viewpoints. /The utterance of empty phraseology and a declamatory knowledge of Marxism does not serve the vital interests of the working people./ [in boldface]. We must today, in every basic organization, become aware of what the party's primary, leadership and service role is, and also how the party's ideological identity is built in the basic elements.

The conference participants were also presented four announcements: by the KW secretary Danuta Grabowska, on the propaganda and training work tasks of the Radom voivodship echelon; by Jerzy Adamczyk, on propaganda and agitation problems in the basis party elements; by Andrzej Magrys, on the ideological struggle at the present stage; and by Jozef Zdrojkowski, on the traditions of the workers' movement in the Radom lands.

The next part of the conference was taken up by a discussion in four problem teams: ideological problems in industrial plants; propaganda and the party's ideological work in the countryside; the party's ideological-upbringing work in education and culture circles and in youth organizations; and the theory and practice of political training.

In closing the deliberations, the KW first secretary Bogdan Prus stated that the ideological conferences will be a permanent element in the work of the PZPR's Radom voivodship echelon. Today the party needs objectively true political, economic and social syntheses so as to be able to verify and improve the present methods of political work.

## Executive Board on Social-Political Situation

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 14 Oct 82 p 2

[Text] Production results for three quarters are good. In September in industry, sales of products and services rose 9.4 percent, which is 9.1 billion zlotys more than a year ago. Of the 84 economic units in which sales increased, 49 had a growth rate of over 110 percent. This includes the ZAMECH Mechanical Plants in Pionki, the RADOSKOR Leather Industry Plant, the POLMETAL Metal Products Factory, and the RAFIL [enterprise] in Radom. Cement production also increased 3 percent, and telephone sets by 32,000 instruments. There were 6.1 percent more food articles produced, and 1.9 percent more butter. The efforts of the work forces should be stressed, because these results were obtained under conditions of continuing shortages of raw and other materials.

There was further improvement in the electrical energy and fuels economy. Coal deliveries for 9 months were 103.3 percent fulfilled. In trade there is full coverage by quantity, although not always by product range, for state-controlled articles,

Unfortunately, there are also negative aspects. There are still 30 enterprises which show a decline of more than 15 percent in sales of products and services. They include primarily: the Radom plant of the Mazovian Fruit and Vegetable Industry Plants, the Radom PROFEL Refractory Materials Plant in Szydlowiec, and the GERLACH Tableware Combine in Drzewice. As many as 37 enterprises have high employments, not commensurate with the percentage of increase in production. The highest growth occurred in the "Kozienice" power plant and in the HORTEX Vegetable Preserves' Plant. The number of workers' idle-time hours in the plants is also disturbing. Each worker (aside from vacation time) did not work almost 152 hours. In this, there were 91 hours of sick absences. The Chaff-Cutter Production Plant in Rzucow, GERLACH in Drzewice, and the Radom Foundries, are at the top of the list in these statistics.

The results of the construction enterprises for three quarters of this year are also different from last year's. In multifamily housing construction, 1,401 apartments were released for occupancy i.e., 62.8 percent of the annual plan. Of the buildings expected to be completed in the past month, the contractors did not finish seven of them.

Poor results are appearing in agriculture. Up to the end of September, winter grain was sown on 99,000 hectares (67 percent of the plan). From July to September of this year, only 34,500 tons of artificial fertilizers were spread, i.e., 25 percent less than last year. Procurement of farm crops--grain and potatoes--is also proceeding poorly. In a year in which fruit was exceptionally abundant, thus far 137,700 tons (66.8 percent of the plan) has been procured. Nor have export capabilities been utilized. The same with vegetables.

Transportation should also be included in the minus column. The State Motor Transport lacked only 12.4 percent to fulfill the plan, while at the same time, haulage dropped 24.4 percent in comparison with last year.

The executive board determined that the implementation of tasks for three quarters of this year shows that the voivodship economy is continuing to stabilize. But the minuses that are appearing cannot be ignored. The percentage of unsold production remains high, increases in employment are large while productivity is declining, and furthermore, so is work discipline. We must react decisively to the totally unjustified number of excused sick absences. The executive board pointed out the socially negative effects of the sluggishness of construction. Not only in relation to housing construction, but also to so necessary a facility as a new building for the Voivodship Group Hospital.

The executive board obligated the KW Economic and Agricultural Commissions to hold meetings with the aktivs of the enterprises and institutions that are not performing their tasks and to present appropriate programs of activity for the future. All local echelons should react similarly.

In the second part of the deliberations, the KW executive board discussed the sociopolitical situation in the region.

#### Party Member Activities

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 82 pp 1, 5

[Article: "The Activeness of all Party Members Will Guarantee that Difficult Social and Economic Tasks Will be Accomplished"]

[Text] On Friday [15 October 1982], Albin Siwak, member of the Politburo and chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Complaints and Interventions Commission, visited the work force of the Construction Machinery Repair Shops [ZREMB] in Radom.

During the discussion with workers, in which the following also participated: Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the PZPR KW, Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, Radom governor, and Zbigniew Urbaniak, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee (KM), Albin Siwak replied to dozens of questions on housing construction, the union movement, the sociopolitical situation in the country, and the daily problems of the working people.

In assessing the state of housing construction, the Politburo member stated that in the country approximately 2.5 million families have been waiting over 10 years for their own M [apartment]. The causes for this can be found in the erroneous organization of the building process. Decisions have been made recently on the synchronization of measures to solve problems relating to housing construction, giving reason to believe that an end can be expected to shortages of such items as floor coverings, kitchen sinks, etc., and that 140,000 apartments waiting for such fittings will be made ready for occupancy. The construction of single-family dwellings is a separate issue. The repeal of faulty regulations and the reactivation of regional materials factories should, in the immediate future, make it possible to expand the range of this construction.

In characterizing the directions of the development of the union movement, Albin Siwak stated that the working class needs one strong union. Only such an organization will be able to properly represent the interests of the factory groups.



The union movement was weakened by its fragmentation. Therefore, these kinds of tendencies should be decisively opposed. The workers must also eliminate from their organizations various kinds of politicizers. The mistakes of "Solidarity" must not be repeated.

During the discussion, which lasted almost 4 hours, there were also sharp exchanges of opinions. In sum, however, the representative of the ZREMB work force, requesting that the workers' opinions be forwarded to the party and government leadership, said that a firm, manful talk with a worker-member of the highest PZPR authority, will serve to explain the leadership policy of the party and government and bring it closer.

During the afternoon, the members of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, Zofia Grzyb and Albin Siwak, took part in a meeting with the workers' aktiv of plants from the Radom voivodship. At the beginning of the meeting, which was conducted by KW first secretary Bogdan Prus, those in attendance heard an assessment of the economic and social situation in the voivodship, presented by the KW secretary, Włodzimierz Kocinski.

Then the Politburo members replied to dozens of questions pertaining to the application of economic reform, the acceleration of housing construction, the problems of social parasitism and speculation, and the organizing of a new union movement.

The present period of the implementation of PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress resolutions is characterized by the particularly far-reaching and extensive socioeconomic and political measures being taken in national life.

The Polish trade-union movement is entering into a new stage of historical development. Programs implementing the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee Ninth Plenum resolutions on matters relating to the young generation are being concretized. A reports campaign is already going on in the basic party elements. The next ideological training year is being inaugurated, and the work in the schools, colleges and cultural-educational centers has begun.

The current party tasks in this area, the methods and forms by which they will be implemented, were discussed on 15 October of this year in Kielce, during a consultation of the propaganda secretaries of the PZPR basic organizations and plant committees and the directors of the regional ideological-upbringing work centers.

The intensive social and political life always increases the work of the party, said Eugeniusz Cichon, PZPR KW secretary, who conducted the consultation. The tasks which face us today are of a special nature. The formation of structures of a systems type requires that all party members, its aktiv, not only intensify their own activity but also assume a large part of the responsibility for the final form of these structures and their substantive matter.

What is referred to here are matters of such great importance as having the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, linking people coming from different occupational and social circles, under conditions of an existing diversity of viewpoints, as effectively as possible create a climate of national understanding by employing that minimum of unanimity that arises from the supreme interests of the state and the nation.



It is important also that the trade unions that form do so in a climate free from unproved accusations and perverted intentions, and that they from the first moment be a actual organization of working people and their representative in conformance with the will of the legislators.

These and other preconditions require of the party members and echelons an active position, skill in explaining different current problems, based on thorough familiarity with the basic documents that are the development of the policy of the party and the government.

In meeting the growing social need for political information, we must expand the form and scope of its transmittal, creating a more effective obstacle to the propaganda and rumors of the diversionary centers.

A current assessment of the sociopolitical situation and the tasks arising from it formed the subject of a meeting between the PZPR KW secretariat, the first secretaries of the PZPR City Committees and Plant Committees, and a group of KW lecturers.

During the meeting, the first secretary of the PZPR KW in Kielce, Maciej Lubczynski, reported on the conference of the first secretaries of the voivodship committees held on 14 October 1982 with the PZPR Central Committee.

On Saturday in Radom there was a conference of the first secretaries of the city committees, the city-gmina committees, and the PZPR Gmina committees from the voivodship area.

During the meeting which was conducted by the first secretary of the PZPR KW, Bogdan Prus, problems connected with the current sociopolitical situation in the region were discussed, and the tasks of the party organizations and echelons in the immediate future.

#### Executive Board on Harvesting Problems

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 82 p 2

[Article: "Assessment of the Summer Vacation for Children and Youth. Problems in the Procurement of Farm Crops"]

[Text] Assurance that the largest number of youth will have a good rest during this year's vacation was a matter that the KW executive board took up early in May of this year. Assessing the state of preparations at that time for this year's summer campaign, specific decisions were also made. Yesterday [20 October 1982] the executive board returned to the subject, examining in detail the course of the summer campaign. It turned out that over 50,000 children and youth took advantage of all forms of rest. Almost 25,000 were in summer camps in various parts of the country. A 200-person group of girls and boys went to the GDR at the invitation of the Magdeburg district authorities.

The organizing of 22 fixed periods in health camps for 1,500 children, also deserves mention. Scouts, workplaces, local Society of Children's Friends (TPD), gmina group schools, also conducted summer play centers and bivouacs, in which 4,000 youth took part. In the scouting day camps, 36 detachments and 101 "wolf-packs" took part.

There were also many events, contests organized by cultural-educational centers and clubs. In all, almost 20,000 children participated in the smaller forms of rest.

All of the centers also implemented an upbringing program, combining rest with the shaping of correct civic attitudes, the releasing of initiatives for socially useful work. The cadres also passed its test here, having been recruited mainly from amongst teachers, instructors of youth organizations, and students of pedagogical colleges.

The camps were well-supplied with food, transport functioned efficiently, and the means for financing the summer campaign were full secured.

In evaluating this year's campaign positively, the executive board called attention to the weak points. These include a relatively small share of children and youth participating, and especially rural children. Not too long ago, during the vacation period 180 kindergartens were in operation. This year, out of the planned 100, only 40 functioned. The assistance of the TPD in extending the profile and number of health camps is also regarded as necessary. Listening to the expressions of public opinion, it was decided to recommend a more fair selection of children for trips abroad in the future. It was acknowledged that it would be proper to more carefully select the cadre, from the standpoint of morals and qualifications.

The executive board expressed praise for all of those who spared no effort to make this year's vacations for youth a success.

In the next part of the deliberations an assessment was made of the implementation of procurement of basic farm crops. Thus far in the voivodship, 20.2 percent of the grain was procured. Good results were obtained so far in the procurement of potatoes (74.7 percent). Orders for potatoes from plants and institutions, who asked for help in supplying their work forces, have been filled. Fruit, 194,000 tons, has also been procured. The fruit crop, however, is so large that the number should increase to 350,000 tons by the end of the year. The state of the reserve stocks is satisfactory.

The executive board recommended that all efforts be made by the farm services to obtain between results in grain procurement. The Voivodship Union of Horticultural Cooperatives has been obligated to improve the efficiency of fruit procurement. The need to expand the processing facilities was pointed out. The Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives should take part in the contracting for grain and potatoes.

9295

CSO: 2600/106

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW PERIODICAL PUBLISHED--The first issue of a new periodical, EDUKACJA POLITYCZNA [POLITICAL EDUCATION], is now on sale. The periodical is addressed to everyone who, through his work, exerts an influence on the development of the civic education of all social strata. It is published by the Central Methodological Institute of Political Science Studies. It has filled the gap that has existed in political publications and can be a valuable help to those who deal with broadly conceived civic education. [Excerpts] [AU171548 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 82 p 5 AU]

POLISH-VIETNAMESE FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY--On the initiative of the Council of Societies of Friendship with Nations of the All-Polish Committee of the National Unity Front [OK FJN], a founding meeting of the Polish-Vietnamese Friendship Society was organized in Warsaw on 20 December. Bde Gen Czeslaw Dega was elected chairman of the society. Walery Namiotkiewicz, director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, participated in the meeting. [Excerpts] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 82 p 2]

NIGERIA DETAINS SHIP--A Polish electrical engineer, (Monikov T. Jessis), has appeared before the federal revenue court in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, charged with illegal importation of three automatic pistols and 30 rounds of ammunition. He was also charged with illegal selling of two automatic pistols and 20 rounds of ammunition to one Stephan Aping. (Jessis) was arrested by the police on board a Polish ship in Port Harcourt following a tip-off. The presiding judge, Mr Justice G. U. Osakwe, ordered (Jessis) to be remanded in police custody until today when his plea would be taken. Meanwhile, the captain of the ship has been ordered by the police not to move his ship from the Port Harcourt wharf until further notice. [Text] [AB101300 Lagos Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 10 Dec 82]

CSO: 3400/482

ILLEGAL DISSEMINATION OF RELIGIOUS WRITINGS BY POPOVICI

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 27 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Mihai Milca]

[Text] Recently we have been seeing a deterioration in the political climate in the world, an intensification of the activity of the most reactionary circles in the West which have launched a veritable propaganda offensive, powerful and concentrated, against socialism and the course for detente in international relations, against progressive forces who love peace. The emaciated ghosts of a long-gone era are being revived with a fervor worthy of a better cause and the specter of the "cold war" is being resuscitated. The doctrines, themes and slogans which have enjoyed a spectacular career two or three decades ago but which were compromised and abandoned in the garbage can with the rubbish of history are being recovered and "reconditioned" and subject to "plastic surgery" and brought back into circulation, however serving the same purposes: poisoning the political atmosphere, slandering the realities of the socialist countries, compromising the spirit of collaboration in international life, enslaving the people's awareness, discrediting the values of democracy, liberty and humanism. The favorite techniques of this propaganda: disinformation, intoxication of the listener with lies, manipulating those who have fallen under the influence of its messages and diversion--ideological and political. A means of its own action of this propaganda is insinuating its messages in the case of other messages of a political, cultural, scientific and even religious nature.

The recipe for the success which this type of propaganda counts on thus lies in a composite message, a mixtum compositum of information and lies, of pseudovaluations, of prejudices and resentments associated with using mass means of communications added to which are the methods and techniques of the "psychological warfare," of conditioning the awareness and political subversion. Radio and television broadcasts, audiovisual techniques, all kinds of printed materials become channels and supports which are more and more often used by certain virulent propaganda campaigns which strive to leave the impression of free circulation of information, of tolerance and competition for diverse viewpoints.

In the following, we wish to place before the readers' attention what we believe is a conclusive example of this type of attempt to dissimulate and infiltrate an enemy propaganda, backward and poisonous to the greatest degree under the innocent mask of sermons, of "evangelical" teaching included in a number of brochures printed in the west and intended, however, for believers in Romania, brochures which their authors are striving to bring illegally into the country. The titles of these "works"

are all the same way: "Jesus is Calling You," "Jesus, Your Savior," "Don't You Want To Answer God's Call?" Their author who claims to be a "servant of the Scriptures," is "Dr" Alexa Popovici, an individual who does not hesitate in defaming the country in which he was born, failing to hide his hostility toward socialist realities and the communist regime in Romania.

All the brochures mentioned offer a pathetic "intellectual" scenery, a paucity of ideas, an exasperating monotony. Proceeding from several little biblical histories, the "author" attempts to find a certain significance and analogies in the life of society today, which would justify his repeated appeals to repentance and penitence and to salvation by choosing the path of Jesus. The "author" shows a strange attraction for certain biblical themes such as, for example, that of the blood. The way in which they are overbidded, however, surprisingly recall the life for life's sake of the Iron Guard: "And the song is a new song compared with the songs of past eternities; it is the song of the blood shed on the cross, the hymn of wounds which drip the redeemed blood," "without bloodshed there is no salvation," "the song of the blood is a confirmation of our salvation," "The song of the blood, close to Christ." The "author" pleads with all his facts for an irrational life so that man, by completely turning his back on the earthly life, would closely follow Christ: "Christianity is not adopting certain standards, certain dogma, but it is life in itself, being born according to Christ, the Son of God, it is living close to Him, imitating Him, escaping from the world to God through Christ." For A. Popovici, man represents merely a string of bad moves, blamable instincts, a sinner, an existential nothing. It is not man who is in the center of the world, but God. Man's misfortunes today, thus, would lie in the fact that the big problems confronting mankind are seeking a human solution; by not awaiting "God's Word," by avoiding God, by ignoring him and making himself the supreme value, man would be sinning fundamentally. So to this "servant of the Scriptures" humanism would be a constitutional evil, a repugnant attitude, profoundly evil. He practices "abandoning" the world, inactivity, in the end contradicting himself, he preaches the refusal to live.

Circulating terrifying pictures of earthly life, exaggerating the lines of a description of everyday realities in somber colors, A. Popovici actually is preparing the sentimental ground for putting into operation his means of psychological and moral pressure intended to extort the reader, proselyte or potential proselyte to agree to and accept his thesis. Earth is considered "a gloomy place," history is a collection of horrors and wretches, while the people are "turning somersaults" in the dark. No certainty or hope is foreseen. The only truth which A. Popovici postulates is that "we are sinners," that human nature is condemned to sin forever, that man is evil and dishonest by nature. He proclaims with apocalyptic emphasis: "The generation of our time is living the last times." Salvation lies only with the will of God, who can or cannot give forgiveness or punishment to the sinners, who alone can judge them. This psychological "preparation" actually is intended to facilitate our "preacher's" success in converting those he is aiming at. After he storms and thunders against humanism, against science and a scientific spirit, against reason, against education, modern art, against man's freedom to master his own fate, the "author" offers "the chance for salvation." This means only the individual's blind subordination to God's power, annulling any ambition, personality, annihilating any purely human aspirations and ideals. Man thus is reduced to the precarious state of a puppet whose strings are pulled in conformity with divine command by God's intermediary, who is none other than the preacher. A. Popovici denies the possibility for man's transformation through education, through changing the environment he lives in. The

"author" attempts to recover for his own use the criticisms which some people in science and also ordinary people make of the excessive development of technology and alienation from capitalist society and he fraudulently invokes to his favor B. F. Skinner, convinced that in this way he is giving a certificate of authority to his phantasmagorias. Because A. Popovici sees as the only possibility for the transformation of man the "biblical possibility," he vehemently challenges the claim of scientific and philosophical doctrines to explain the world, to contribute to changing it. The enemies upon which he throws all his indignation are right there next to the Devil, Satan, Mamona, "the teachers of atheism," Voltaire, Darwin, Marx. The poisons of his "retoric" blinded by antiscientific passion are spread and paradoxically saturate the "author's" "Christian" discourse that concerns us.

His Christian "tolerance" and "love of the near" make way for fury, anathema, clinging to a rigid, inflexible, anachronistic position which recalls the "best" times of obscurantism and religious fanaticism. A. Popovici through all his opinions and advice proves to be a person foreign to his time. A stubborn relic of the past. So one may note without too much difficulty that beyond the "exemplary" words of the actual text there is the true nature and deeply backward and poisonous significance of a religious message which in no way dissembles the political and ideological propensities placed in the service of interests hostile to man and his freedom. Unmasking the poisoned essence of such propagandistic-religious undertakings as well as that which we are referring to, however, is neither superfluous or lacking in meaning. Warning the young generation of the chances and prospects which these kinds of "sermons" and "prophets" offer man and his future for that reason is a task of great intelligence and moral responsibility. Only in this way, through merciless criticism, is it possible to reject in full awareness of the case, in a radical way, without equivocating, the attempts through which the enemies of human progress and freedom are attempting to hide the truth, to impoverish the moral universe of human awareness, to turn away from the road the people who are seeking happiness and justice here, on Earth, in the real life, in today's world.

8071

CSO: 2700/51

DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Aug 82 pp 12-13

[Article by Lt Gen Gheorghe Enciu: "The Communications System of the Romanian Army"]

[Excerpts] A new stage in the equipping of the army with communications systems began with the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party of 22-25 April 1968 which, on the basis of the increased possibilities of our national industry and the analysis of the profound implications of the technical-scientific revolution in the international sphere, called for the initiation of intensive and continuing research, design and production activity for numerous types of combat technology, including especially complex electronic technology.

The results obtained so far in the implementation of these guidelines, in the development and diversification of the production of military communications technology of Romanian design and manufacture are an eloquent expression of the great possibilities for the highest possible utilization of one's own potential for scientific and technical creation, for the affirmation of the original thought and creative capacity of our technicians and workers and of our researchers or engineers, whether or not they wear military uniforms.

The fact that, at present, the major part of the means of communications has been manufactured in the country, according to Romanian design, is a cause for great patriotic pride on the part of each communications worker. On the basis of the need to translate on the technical level the concept of the defense of the country by the entire people, the means of communications which are being produced ensure that they can be operated under conditions of climate and terrain which are specific to our national territory. And if we add to this the major requirement set before the communications systems for the future--that the necessary channels be ensured for the utilization of computer technology in the automated command of troops--we have a picture of the communications of the present and the future. This is the basis for the work and creative efforts of our researchers and producers in devising new types of radio and radio-relay stations, techniques for communications by wire, as well as special vehicles for communications centers and mobile command points which are up to the level of similar achievements and concerns in the international sphere.

Along with the quantitative and qualitative improvement of the technical equipping of communications troops, in the spirit of the major requirements which our supreme commander set forth at meetings with the command and basic party activists of the armed forces, a continuing perfecting of the organization and development of the entire process of instructing and educating the military communications workers is taking place, on the basis of and in the spirit of the concept of our party regarding the defense of the country by the entire people. Day after day, at the target ranges, in the drill areas, in the camps, in the special classrooms, in the framework of technical exercises and specialized tactical drills, the communications workers are perfecting their tactical and specialized training, enriching their theoretical, general military and technical knowledge, and forming and developing skills for handling and using the complex and modern means of communication provided to them, with the maximum productivity and under the most varied conditions.

The entire process of education and instruction is directed and organized by cadres with a high professional competence, devoted to the country, the people and the party, with a high sense of responsibility and a strong passion for their chosen career. An important contribution is made in the training of such cadres by the School for Active Communications Officers which currently is registering remarkable results in the implementation of the provisions of the programmatic documents of our party for raising the scientific content and emphasizing the practical-applicational formative character of education and of the instructional-educational process, in close coordination with the requirements of national military doctrine and of the directive of the supreme command, asserting new, superior qualities in all fields of activity.

CSO: 2700/65



THE ROLE OF PUBLIC PETITIONS DISCUSSED

Role of Public Petitions Discussed

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 82 pp 9-12

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Petitions: Pressure or Something Else"]

[Text] A petition does not have any of the humility of an appeal, and it very often has some of the bluntness and determination of a demand. This is probably one of the reasons why it regularly meets with resistance in political practice. Although petitions are as diverse as human life (there are protests, in the form of petitions, over the construction of a cemetery in the middle of a village, and there have been petitions demanding the liberation of all political prisoners), when people speak of them they are generally thinking of those with a political connotation. In the last two or three years there have been somewhat more of these than before, and so people are already speaking of petitionism as a mode of behavior or even an ideology.

This subject was recently brought before the public again by a discussion at one of the commissions of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, where, among other things, it was mentioned that "back at the end of 1980, a group of intellectuals and students sent the highest state organs a petition to abolish 'crimes of thought,' and to have the concept of hostile propaganda removed from the Criminal Code, and thus naturally to have penalties for anything of that sort abolished... It is well known that in the last two or three years there have been five or six petitions demanding a halt to the policy of repression in regard to the freedom of the press and freedom of speech, and also in connection with the trial of some nationalists, the trial of the poet Djogo, the sentencing of members of the irredentist movement in Kosovo, the 'ban' on showing 12 films during the period from 1972 to the present, the sentences for violations by the group that requested solidarity for the Polish Solidarity at a meeting of solidarity with the Palestinian people in Belgrade, against the alleged persecution of V. Seselj in Sarajevo, etc. A battle over human rights and freedoms is going on in Yugoslavia. Individuals and groups are very vocal in defending them, and in order to defend them from threats and oppression, repression and manipulation, they have developed systematic petition activity, which is wholeheartedly advertised abroad and taken to be evidence of the intelligentsia's rebellion against the regime and the system."

## Hard Core

There is no doubt about how much resistance we have to petitions, and it is evident from the above quotation. Is this always correct? Why are petitions, which the experts say should be one of the means of expressing the political will of the citizens, viewed so unfavorably in our self-managing socialist milieu?

Naturally, one cannot overlook the fact that some petitions are written on the basis of a hostile attitude toward our society, that they are composed with the intention of discrediting us in the eyes of the world, and that they are inspired by the political underground. It would be difficult to find a justification, however, for allowing the resistance and reservations necessarily created by such petitions to extend to petitions as a group, and for having a negative attitude created toward every petition a priori.

Often cited as an argument against petitions is the fact that a large part of the petitions are always signed by the same people, and that they form a sort of "hard core of signatories" around whom others then gather, for the most part students, and for the most part in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. It could almost be said that there are professional petition signers. There is no doubt; the surest way to discredit any petition and any other action is to have some of these people sign it, since they clearly accept petitionism and impose it as a form of political struggle. They do not present demands just in connection with some concrete problem, but instead use this problem for the most part as a mere pretext for protesting against everything Yugoslav. Can such people, however, who have been maintaining the same positions for a decade or more, always in conflict with this society--can those individuals and groups who have been working for years now to gain acknowledgment of petitions from the opposition and their more or less permanent hangers-on, be identified with those who speak out with good intentions? Finally, can and should this society repudiate and shrink away from some people who are perhaps more critical than the rest; or, as Edison said, "Dissatisfaction is the first step toward progress"? Can we still conduct ourselves in accordance with the system of "whoever does not think as I do is against me, he is an enemy"?

There is no doubt that some petitions have been aimed at plotting something that was supposed to contribute to the destabilization of our society, especially during the time immediately after Tito's death. But wasn't that the time when certain signs of what we now openly call the stagnation of self-management, which could have influenced the appearance of petitioners, began to appear? It seems to us that part of the odium against petitioners is the result of the already disturbing resistance that exists in Yugoslavia to all spontaneous forms of reaction, to everything that stands out against the institutions and norms. The same syndrome, or a similar one, appears in connection with strikes; we are not against strikes, but there is no need or place for strikes in our self-managing socialist system, since there are other ways for the workers to fight for their demands. To tell the

truth, these other ways do exist, but workers are nevertheless sometimes forced to have recourse to this ultimate weapon, as some people call it.

What is meant by certain actions to gather signatures, regardless of their motives and the purposes for which this was done? In our system, this is pressure on the legal self-managing and sociopolitical organs to act outside normal self-managing procedures, as Ratko Butulija, at that time secretary of the Belgrade party committee, said about two or three years ago.

### Obscenity and Arguments

Although there is what we could call an entire network of normal and usual ways for public opinion to be expressed and for influence to be exerted by citizens, these forms of expression are sometimes so ossified and so impenetrable from below that they do not let in even a breath of fresh air. It is thus not so rare that one hears the critical remark that self-management as an institution has begun to smother self-management as a movement, i.e., what is spontaneous in it. It is no wonder at all that the alert guardians of self-management as an institution become nervous as soon as something appears that is not under their auspices. While at the lower levels it is permissible to acknowledge that some petition composed by the citizens of the local community or municipality is the fruit of bureaucratic usurpation and tyranny in individual areas, and of the citizens' inability to express themselves in another manner, much less exert influence, for petitions that are sent any higher than this lowest level, this can scarcely happen. The bureaucratic spirit tries so hard to bind self-management in a chastity belt of norms and institutions that it is more and more often suffocating under that pressure.

Also bureaucratic in nature is the spirit that watches over the peace of our citizens, probably feeling that our public is politically immature and that it is therefore unsuitable to burden it with uncomfortable news, which naturally includes news about petitions. Thus, almost as a rule, whenever possible nothing is reported about petitions in Yugoslavia, and when the foreign press publishes them, we open fire on them. Often using cannon to shoot sparrows, we ascribe too much significance to petitions, almost as if some supposition by the citizens could threaten everything that has taken years to build. Political forums almost regularly react to petitions through announcements, or people from the top of the party hierarchy act on their own authority, but officially, the public does not become fully aware even of the contents of the petition, except through attacks or quotations taken out of context. Except for the request from Slovenian intellectuals for starting a new journal in Ljubljana, from which the cloak of concealment was removed through its publication in DELO, it is difficult to recall any other petition published in its entirety in Yugoslavia. Mitja Ribicic told us once that "for the most part state security and the internal affairs organs deal with" the hostile press and dissident tendencies (which includes petitionism, according to government practice).

A capable political scientist, advocating that the contents of petitions not be concealed from the public, said, "We frequently behave as though self-management in Yugoslavia, and even Yugoslavia as a socialist community of equal peoples and nationalities, were a sort of fragile plant that will be harmed by any opposition or hostile breeze." Also, once Stipe Suvar, when he was advocating an open democratic dialogue, said in reference to statements by some of our "dissidents" in the foreign press, "Why is it that we are not publishing these ridiculous statements, if we do not have to initiate either political campaigns or legal proceedings against their authors? We should only say, scornfully, 'That is what they claim.' Even our broadest socialist public will know how to assess these claims." Let us once again cite the authority of the current President of the Presidency of the LC Central Committee, who said that "we cannot speak about everything that is written in Djilas's books if no one has even read it. Read the book and see the filth, and you will find arguments, you will be able to say, 'He wrote this and that'; you will not have to cry out only 'Wolf, wolf.'"

#### Vrhovec Urges Opposition

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 82 p 10

[Statement by Josip Vrhovec: "A Double Game"]

[Text] No petition is essential or terrible in and of itself. There may even be errors, and then a petition can be positive; there may also be a petition that is innocently associated with a case that does not deserve it, but we can clear all of that up normally. But if petitionism is imposed as an ideology in the activities of some intellectualist groups, as a highly developed way of making attacks on our socialism, then that is a completely different matter. That is what has come about in practice these days, however, and this petitionism is frankly paid for and encouraged from outside. This is what we have to say. When we tell this to those from whom this petitionism originates, they are truly aware of the fact that this is a double game, since they do not even oppose this argument of ours, but they are no less agile in imposing this petitionism as a form of struggle against our socialism.

#### Petitions in Democratic Society

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 82 p 11

[Article by Dr Tomislav Jantol: "On the Brink of Publicity"]

[Text] In a democratic order, a petition is a legal and legitimate means of public expression of opinions and political will. It is well known that in various parliamentary democracy systems there are very diverse opportunities for citizens to express their views even outside the institutional system, since the latter cannot express all of the dynamism of political life and all of the pluralism of the political will; various mechanisms are thus provided which function outside of the institutional system, and through which the citizens can express their will individually or as a group. In

our constitutional order, the non-institutional launching of a political initiative is also provided for, in addition to all of the possibilities for citizens to express their political will within the institutional delegate system of decision-making. These freedoms are fairly precisely defined, and are part of the classical bourgeois freedoms to express views in public and to assemble. In this entire complex of diverse mechanisms which articulate the political will of citizens within the public, a petition is only one form, but a unique one in some of its characteristics.

#### Verbal Demonstrations

A petition usually goes beyond the institutional system and is explicitly directed to the highest organ of the government, demanding some decision, measure, or procedure. Sometimes they go beyond the institutional channels because it is felt that the latter are too constricted or completely blocked; on other occasions, the issuers of the petition feel that the response to a "normal" request would be too slow and that the problem requires an immediate solution. Sometimes they want to use the petition to express an opposition view in a demonstrative manner. Also, to leave the theoretical level, in Yugoslavia petitionism is sporadic, specific in form, and to a marked extent a protest and a demonstrative means of expressing views.

In fact, petitions are always verbal demonstrations loaded with protest; this demonstration is directed more to the broader public than to the one to whom it is sent, all in order to secure broader and more significant support for it. It is just for this reason that we do not have a tradition of petitionism, and not even the necessary dose of tolerance for the expression of public opinion in this manner, even if by a very small group of people (petitions in Yugoslavia are supported by very few people). In Yugoslavia, petitions are less an appeal to the government than a protest and a demonstrative criticism of the faulty operation of the governmental organs. Thus, a petition, which in the traditional sense demands some response or operation by the governmental organs. Thus, a petition, which in the traditional sense demands some response or operation by the governmental organs, is here more of a protest that this has not taken place. It is used more in Yugoslavia to demand examination of the context of the problem than of the problem itself. A petition which by itself is addressed more to the public than to the recipient, because it wants to open a dialogue on a controversial issue, does not start such a dialogue in Yugoslavia, partly because it is more illegal than legal, but also partly because it contains this increased load of protest. Here, petitionism is more on the brink of publicity than it is public, and it appears when there is no continuing dialogue, so that petitionism is also a signal that this dialogue does not exist. When there is a permanent dialogue in a society, petitionism loses its significance, and in particular, it loses its markedly demonstrative protest form and nature. It is possible that sometimes in Yugoslavia the motives for protests are unacceptable, both negative and oppositionist, but we should create an atmosphere of tolerance in which this means of expressing views would be superfluous because there is an active critical public in which one can openly and freely write and think critically about this or that aspect of everyday policy, through the legal institutions. If

petitions appear then, they should be answered publicly, since if they are not answered publicly, if they are secretly condemned or sanctions are adopted against the issuers of the petition, then the broader public, which finds out about all of this by one means or another in any case, will become frustrated, feeling that the government is afraid of a dialogue. This is possibly the most significant aspect for our situation.

#### Bureaucratic Control

In a healthy political society (here political health means a state of dialogue), petitionism is always an expression of the frustration of the issuers of the petition, but in a society where there is no dialogue, petitionism is an expression of the frustration of the government. A system of self-managing democracy with a pluralism of self-managing interests implies open public communication, but I think that a large part of the political leadership is unwilling to accept this. On the other hand, the attempts by individual groups of citizens to express their views publicly, admittedly not caused only by this, but nevertheless caused by this as well, acquire a sharp demonstrative nature. It is possible that sometimes there really is unacceptable and oppositionist activity--in ideological criticisms, sometimes called hostile activity--but all of this should be answered by arguments in a public dialogue. There is no doubt that in a democratic society arguments are much stronger than any repressive measure. Repressive measures can only liquidate the heart of a problem temporarily; they leave it smoldering for a long time, and it can burst into flame even more dangerously at a later time. I even think that certain parts of our political system are blocked by bureaucratic control, which then responds by the quickest possible means: public condemnation and name-calling, which always disqualifies the interlocutor and prevents talks in advance. The real, historical response to the current petitionism is to develop a system and culture of political communication in which both the political leadership and the citizens will become accustomed to free discussion.

9909

CSO: 2800/70

## YUGOSLAVIA

### 'DANAS' DEFENDS POSITION AGAINST CRITICISM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Oct 82 pp 42-43

[Text] About seven months have passed since the appearance of the first issue (23 February 1982) of the long prepared and anticipated political news weekly DANAS, and so far 36 issues have been published. This is a very short period in the life of a newspaper, but there are nevertheless several significant reasons why the editorial board and the basic organization of the LC [OOSK] have decided to perform a thorough analysis of their work and determine its accomplishments, successes, and failures.

#### The Basic Organization

First of all, regardless of outside prompting, although there was some, since such an analysis of our work was requested by the Presidency of the Central Committee of the Croatian LC, we ourselves considered it to be our professional responsibility and party duty to provide a judgment and assessment of our work so far. Even though this period is short, it is still long enough to perceive the ideological orientation and editorial concept of our newspaper, at least in their broad outlines. We tried to make our assessment as realistic and objective as possible, especially in reference to the public criticisms of certain articles and illustrations. The basic organization met several times and attempted to avoid subjectivism and uncritical acceptance in its own reexamination. On the basis of lengthy discussions, it issued an analysis of the reporting by the newspaper DANAS, covering 31 issues of the weekly. In analyzing past reporting, we made use of the LC congresses, at which competent assessments of the socio-political situation were heard and where positions were adopted on the future activity of the LC, as a particularly valuable guide and a sort of "litmus paper." We were interested primarily in the extent to which DANAS met the needs of the moment, and the extent to which it succeeded in detecting the pulse of the times, and dealing with real currents and trends, and real events. The editorial board and the OOSK, proceeding on the basis of these principles, gave their views in the 24 pages of their analysis of certain controversial articles; they feel that in spite of several criticisms and comments, DANAS has made a significant breakthrough in Yugoslav journalism, and especially in the democratization of a dialogue. This also applied to the openness of the editorial board, which has thus far succeeded in assembling about 300 permanent and part-time contributors.

In assessing editorial policy to date, the DANAS OOSK feels that one cannot accept the views that the articles published in our paper were primarily aimed at destruction and not construction, and it feels that this has nothing to do with a tendency of the editorial board to select only the dark sides of our society. It is understandable that such an impression might be given by a series of articles on certain "hot topics," and that omissions were made in these and that there were errors. In analyzing the reasons why the errors were made, the OOSK felt that this had to do with haste, with a desire to have the newspaper appear in a short time, while there were also occurrences of imitation and of jumping into some subjects headfirst, without preparation. This last item was felt to be the greatest weakness in the past editorial policy. Nevertheless, in spite of all the weaknesses that we have had so far, in our overall editorial policy, we did not make any mistakes with respect to the basic commitments and policy of the LC, the interests of the working class, self-management, nonalignment, brotherhood and unity, or the defense of the country. On the contrary, we openly stood against centralism and bureaucratism, against nationalism and the erection of regional barriers, against attempts to bypass self-management and offer other concepts; we warned against irresponsible behavior and against old methods of behavior.

#### Action Conference

On the basis of all this, at the Action Conference of the Work Organization for Publishing of the VJESNIK SOUR [complex organization of associated labor], on 16 October 1982, which was devoted to current issues associated with editorial policy, especially at the weekly DANAS, the OOSK stated the following positions:

The members of the DANAS OOSK consider the overall orientation of the paper, and the key directions of its editorial policy, as they were recorded in the outline for the political weekly and later implemented in the paper, to be clearly positive.

The members of the OOSK consider the analysis adopted to be a step in their work, as a part of their overall monitoring of the implementation of editorial policy. The task of the analysis was to assess the scope and errors of the recently launched newspaper, while also taking into account the time in which it was launched and in which it appeared.

In their discussion, the members of the OOSK particularly concentrated on the key dilemma of whether (in discussing the so-called controversial articles) this was a question of individual errors or of an erroneous editorial policy in general. The answer to this question is clear to the members of the basic organization: one cannot speak of an erroneous policy. Approximately 1,250 articles have appeared in the issues that have been published thus far. The ten or so articles about which sharp criticisms or serious comments have been made are only a small part of what the editorial board has published in seven months. Even if all of these articles were errors, it would therefore be impermissible to derive an editorial policy solely from them. Such a negative assertion could probably nullify the efforts of any editorial board.



Another key topic discussed by the LC members has to do with the dilemma of whether DANAS is a sensationalist newspaper or not. The members of the OOSK feel that the assessment of sensationalism cannot be accepted, and that this would be possible only if one were to declare the topicality of the subjects and the editorial board's efforts to participate in discussing the key problems of this society (which is at a turning point and obviously requires a change in the behavior of each of us) to be sensationalism and a search for negative topics, an insistence on what is negative and destructive. The present situation requires that every communist be more critical of himself and of phenomena in society. The DANAS OOSK feels that the right way to surmount our present difficulties can only be sought if we are prepared for an open dialogue and a substantive discussion, most of all within the ranks of the LC.

The news media are also expected, within the limits of their capabilities, to assist in resolving dilemmas and difficulties as painlessly as possible, but at the same time, as openly as possible. This is how the members of the DANAS OOSK view the way in which they are following Tito's path and implementing LC policy.

As for errors in reporting, there have been some, and one can hardly expect them not to occur in the future. The members of the DANAS OOSK are prepared to accept any substantive criticism and to attempt to reduce these errors as much as possible.

The action conference also received reports from other basic organizations (seven), all of which had the DANAS reporting on the agenda, and after a seven-hour discussion in which 23 people participated, the action conference adopted the following positions, most of which apply exclusively to DANAS:

1. Analyzing past practice and examining the comments stated at several sociopolitical meetings recently, the Action Conference feels that it is necessary to ensure a greater degree of uniformity in the conduct of editorial policy and to ensure its improvement, as well as better coordination at the publishing level. It has been noted that this Action Conference is a step further in intensifying the work of the LC basic organizations in monitoring the implementation of editorial policy, and that in the near future similar discussions will be organized concerning the rest of VJESNIK's publications.
2. Assessing the reporting in the issues of the DANAS weekly that have been published to date, the Action Conference feels that most of the articles, through their analysis, topicality, ideological orientation, and message, have contributed to a realistic assessment of our society, and built and stimulated the development of self-management. It is felt that among the newspaper's positive accomplishments in the past seven months is its markedly national character, as confirmed by its assembling a large number of contributors throughout the country, which also illustrates its openness.
3. The Action Conference feels that the overall editorial orientation of DANAS is in line with positive social commitments, but that unacceptable

tendencies and political errors have been expressed in certain contributions. In this regard the Action Conference energetically requests that the communists of the DANAS newspaper redefine part of their editorial practice and modify the controversial elements of their editorial concept.

4. The Action Conference considers the analysis by the DANAS OOSK to be incomplete, and criticizes its defensive tone. It has also been observed that part of the editorial board's difficulties arise from the insufficient organization of its work, personnel deficiencies, and a persisting lack of smooth cooperation with the newspaper's Council. The Action Conference feels that it is necessary to intensify this cooperation, as well as consultation with all segments of the publishing activities and with the organs of the sociopolitical organizations and communities, in order to strengthen social influence on the editorial policy of the weekly DANAS.

#### The Newspaper Council

The council of the political news weekly DANAS held its third regular meeting on 12 and 19 October 1982. At this meeting, after an analysis of editorial policy, it adopted the following assessments and positions:

The basic orientation of the weekly is derived from the principles of the LCY program and from the concept adopted for the paper, which especially supports self-management, fraternity, and unity, the principles of our nonaligned policy, and stabilization. There have been certain deviations and errors, however, in carrying out the editorial policy.

Utilizing the present broad opportunities for an open and creative dialogue, the editorial board has attempted to initiate discussions of current issues associated with our political, socioeconomic, and cultural situation.

Its correct orientation toward current and general social and political subjects, as well as the broad range of its outside contributors (so far about 300), have helped the weekly to become a national one, both in the number and distribution of its readers, and in its content.

In spite of considerable difficulties of an organizational, personnel, and technical nature, which the founder has not succeeded in eliminating during the past seven months, the DANAS weekly has gained recognition in a very short time and has become a newspaper accepted by the readers. The initial expert studies and the current circulation of 120,000 clearly confirm this.

Some articles, caricatures, and photographs have also been published in DANAS which have conflicted with the editorial concept through their selection, approach, treatment, and way of presenting topics and problems. A pronounced preoccupation with negative phenomena and a neglect of positive processes in society and the results achieved in our search for possible ways out of the present difficult economic situation; nicknaming certain public officials; and the publication of articles based on insufficiently verified information, have recently been increasingly more

present on the pages of the newspaper, and this has resulted in several public criticisms. An analytical and substantive approach to reporting has to a certain extent been pushed aside by tendencies that are in fact leading to sensationalism and defeatism. The Council resolutely advocates overcoming the negative tendencies that have been observed.

The Council insists that the overall editorial policy of the weekly be in accordance with the positions adopted at the LC congresses, and based on objective and timely reporting which contributes to mobilizing working people and citizens to resolve their problems. In regard to this, several suggestions have been made along the lines of having the weekly become more oriented toward topics related to associated labor, and to topics that would treat current issues in sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life in a comprehensive manner.

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END